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First Edition 1000 copies.

MAULANA SHIBLI
AND
ÛMAR KHAYYÂM.

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Maulana Shibli

&

^Umar Khayyam

being

a biographical sketch of the famous Oriental Scholar,
the late Shums-ûl-Ûlemâ Maâlânâ Shibli No'mâni,
and a faithful translation of his Review of 'Umar
Khayyâm's poems and philosophy, from his well-known
Urdu work "Sher-ûl-'Ajam" Vol. I, pp. 225 – 261.

BY

RUSTOM PESTONJI BHAJIWALLA

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

**SHUMS-ÛL-ÛLEMA' DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI,
MODI, B. A., PH. D, LL. D., C. I. E., KT.**

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Surat 1932.



Pestonji Cursetji Bhajiwala

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY

of

My Beloved Father & Revered Tutor

PESTONJI CURSETJI BHAIJIWALLA

Born 1850.

Died 1924.

Head-master of The Irish Presbyterian

Mission High School of Ahmedabad

for thirty years

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PREFACE

It is about seven years since I happened to come in contact with Mr. Jamshedji E. Saklatwalla of Bombay, a great student and admirer of *Umar Khayyám*. Our casual acquaintanceship soon developed into a lasting friendship and I had always a free access to his valuable collection of books.

Of all the *Umarian* literature I could get to read and study through Mr. Saklatwalla, Maulana Shibli's review appealed to me as the most impartial criticism of *Umar Khayyám's* quatrains.

There are innumerable works in the English language, good, bad and indifferent, dealing with the Astronomer-Poet of Persia, but all of them are more or less expensive and not easily procurable in India. Therefore, I hope that this little work containing an account of the life, poems and philosophy of *Umar Khayyám* will supply a long-felt want.

I must here admit that I am not a great scholar of Urdu or Persian. My admiration for *Khayyám* and desire to bring Shibli's criticism to the notice of scholars have encouraged me to publish this work. It is a labour of love for me, and it rests with my critics to decide how far I have succeeded or failed in this self-imposed task.

All the details for the biographical sketch of Shibli given in this volume are chiefly drawn from his Urdu letters "Makálib-i-Shibli," and I have frequently referred to this work in the foot-notes.

To make my work useful and interesting to the student of *Umar Khayyám*, as well as to the general reader who knows nothing about this Persian poet, I have given a *résumé*

of the growth of Khayyām's fame in Europe and in Asia, and have added explanatory foot-notes throughout the work.

Writing verses being a hobby with me, I have rendered all the Urdu and Persian poetical quotations into English verse. This may, perhaps, lay me open to adverse criticism, because the form of verse I have selected has been used by such great masters as Fitzgerald and Whinfield in their versions of Khayyām's quatrains, but my critics will see for themselves that I have spared no pains to avoid plagiarism in the versification.

It is, indeed, a pleasant duty to express my warmest gratitude to the venerable scholar of my community, Shums-ul-Ulema, Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modī, B.A., PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E., Kt. for kindly writing a learned foreword to my book.

I desire to record in this place my most cordial thanks to the famous Muslim Scholar, Maulānā Sayyad Sūlemaṇ Sāheb Nadvi, Director of the Shibli Academy of Azamgarh (U.P.), who, in spite of the rare intervals of leisure at his disposal, communicated with me on many occasions and kindly granted his permission to publish the present work.

My thanks are also due to Prof. Abdūl Azīz Sāheb Meman of the Aligarh Muslim University, for translating for me Khayyām's Arabic verses into English; and to Rev. J. Rogers, the Superintendent of the I. P. Mission Press, for his kind supervision over the printing and get-up of my book.

I am also indebted to the authors and publishers of the following Urdu and English works from which I have derived much help:—

Maulānā Shibli's "*Sher-ūl-'Ajam*" 5 vols.
and "*Makātib-i-Shibli*" 2 vols.

Maulvi Mohammed Yāhiyā Sāheb Tahānī's
"*Sir-ūl-Musannifin*" 2nd vol.

Mr. M. A. Varesi's "*Ūmar Khayyām*."

Prof. Dr. E. G. Browne's "*A Literary History of Persia*," 4 vols.

Prof. R. A. Nicholson's "*A Literary History of the Arabs*."

English *VERSIONS OF KHAYYAM'S RŪBĀIYĀT* by Edward Fitzgerald, E. H. Whinfield and John Payne.

As this is my first attempt at publication, I trust that the reader will overlook any short-comings that may be found, and by affording me the encouragement of that liberal patronage, which is always the award of an enlightened public, stimulate me to further efforts.

R. P. BHAIJWALLA.

"Ambawady,"

Mazagon,

Bombay No. 10.

1st October, 1932.

FOREWORD

It is with great pleasure that I write these few words as a Foreword to Mr. Rustom Pestonji Bhajiwalla's book on "Mauláná Shíbli and Umar Khayyám." One may say that we have enough of books and booklets on Umar Khayyám. But this book, though written by a novice in the field of such literature, is a useful publication, useful perhaps not much to expert students of Umar Khayyám, but useful of course to beginners in Umar Khayyám's poetry, who, as general students, like to know much of the great Persian poet. Mr. Bhajiwalla has collected and condensed much information about him. Again, as said by Mr. Bhajiwalla, it is his desire to bring to the notice of scholars the criticism of Mauláná Shíbli, a philosopher and poet of modern India, that has led him to publish this useful book. This is a new feature in the book. He has added to the value of his book by giving elucidating foot-notes to his version of Mauláná Shíbli. He has shown himself to be a well-read man in the literature about Umar Khayyám and in the writings of Mauláná Shíbli. Mr. Bhajiwalla's attempt to render all the Urdu and Persian poetical quotations into English verse is welcome. It adds to the enjoyment of his book by general readers. Nowadays, when some complain that the Parsis are not up to the mark in the matter of Persian literature, Mr. Bhajiwalla, if he assiduously works in the way in which he seems to have done in this his first attempt, promises to be a *Khabardár*, to be an expert, in the line of Persian and Urdu literature. I wish all success to him in his studies.

While asking me to write a foreword to his book, he has left me a rather wide field to speak on Umar Khayyám and his critic Mauláná Shíbli. The poetry of Umar Khayyám is a fascinating subject. It has fascinated, to some extent, the

learned of Europe and America, and that fascination of the West has roused the learned of the East to study and admire Umar Khayyám. Mr. Bhajiwalla's work gives a helping hand for that study. The reading of an advanced proof of his work has, at least, inspired me to have a somewhat deeper peep into Umar Khayyám's poetry, not so much from a strictly literary point of view about his language or poetry, as I am myself a poor student from this point of view, but from the general point of view of his thoughts. So, I beg to give in this Foreword, an expression, poor though it may be, of the result of my above-said deeper peep.

Occasional publications of books like the present on Sufism are welcome. Mr. R. P. Masani has well said in the Preface of his "Conference of the Birds"¹

"A study of Sufism will thus help us in this materialistic age to steer clear of the arid rocks of egotism while avoiding the engulfing whirlpools of nihilism. The world would indeed be at all times much the better for a little infusion of the exalted devotion of mystics Another aspect of the study of mysticism should not be lost sight of. There is no branch of Oriental or European thought the study of which promotes a better understanding between East and West than mysticism. It removes many a veil of separation that keeps the different races apart from one another, and therefore also apart from God, and makes them realize their essential unity beneath superficial diversity. It may be hoped, therefore, that a deeper and more widespread knowledge of the attractive philosophy and lofty ideals of Sufism, which is at once the religious philosophy and popular religion of Islam, will not fail to induce that spirit of love and charity which neither

1 "The Conference of the Birds, a Sufi Allegory being an Abridged Version of Farid-ud-din Attar's *Mantiq ut Tair*." (1921) Preface p. X.

fears nor loathes as alien communities of different colour or creed, but knits them in closer bonds of union as sons of the same family and sharers of the same destiny."

Our author very properly appreciates Mr Jamshedji Edulji Saklatwalla's pretty rich collection of the literature on Umar Khayyām. Mr. Saklatwalla has spent a good deal of energy and money on his collection and it is good of him that he gives advantage of it to deserving students. His help to such students is help to the cause of Persian Sufistic literature. He himself has also published a new translation of Umar Khayyām's 39 quatrains in triple rhymes¹

It is generally said, and very properly said, that "Poets are born, not made." But, in the case of the born poets also, one may say that, when some are born to be known as born poets, others have, under various circumstances, to be made known, i. e. brought to light by others. Umar Khayyām, though a born poet, was, as it were, not born to be known as a poet by himself. Even a great and a good king like Akbar, who, though himself illiterate, in our modern sense of the word, as he did not know even to read and write, and required an Abul Fazl to defend his illiteracy, was a great friend of literature, could not, by his eloquent words, bring him to light of appreciation. What the East could not do well, the West did. Fitzgerald, after nearly eight centuries of oblivion, brought Umar Khayyām to light and made him known as a born poet. As fate would unfortunately have it, Fitzgerald himself was forgotten. Not only was he not known as the translator, but even his translation was forgotten. He, as far as his translation was concerned, was, as it were, dead. He came to life again, in his life-time. It is doubtful whether Umar Khayyām would

1. A New Translation of Omar Khayyām by Jamshedji E. Saklatwalla. The author proposes to translate hereafter the remaining 41 which will make up the 80 of Fitzgerald

have come to light—if not to the full light to which he has now come to, even to half the light—were it not for Fitzgerald. A Gujarati proverb says, “જહવેરની કિમત જહવેરી જાણો” i.e. “it is a jeweller who values a jewel”. So, it was Fitzgerald, known as a good poet, who appreciated the poetry of Umar Khayyám and valued it for the literary public. He translated 80 quatrains. Umar Khayyám’s quatrains seem to have been so popular, that various authors have gone on adding to them; and with all, what are called, “wandering quatrains,” taken, here and there, from other writers or newly composed, the number has gone up to 801.¹

It is the mystic side that generally appeals to the generality in the East. Astronomy, as a science, cannot be associated with mystic literature. But, as it is associated with astrology, which attracts many as a mystic science, it has come to be taken by the people as somewhat mystic. So, Umar Khayyám was known in Persia, more for his knowledge of astronomy than for his poetry. Umar Khayyám is said to have “followed in the footsteps of Avicenna in the matter, both of ecstatic spiritualism and pessimistic scepticism.”²

In the case of Avicenna (Abu Sená) also, the same was the case. He was a poet and philosopher and a physician as well. But, in Iran itself, he is known more as a physician. As Astronomy, being associated with Astrology, has, as said above, its mystic side in the mind of the generality of the public, so Medicine also has, in the East, its mystic side, having been associated with prayers and amulets. In ancient times, it was a priest who was both a Doctor of Divinity and a Doctor of Medicine. So, Avicenna was more respected as a physician.

1 Critical Studies in the Rubáiyát of Umar-i Khayyám by Arthur Christensen (1927) Preface, p. 8.

2. Persian Literature by Reuben Levy (1923), p. 37

Umar Khayyām is a sufistic poet and my first acquaintance with sufistic thoughts was about 58 years ago, when

My study of
Sufism in Hāfiz
under a Sufi Ustād. I first began reading Hāfiz for my College course with the then eminent teacher of Persian at the Elphinstone College, Prof. Mirza Hairat, the translator into Persian of Malcolm's History of Persia. He himself was of the Sufi belief. I often found him *mast* (intoxicated) with the wine of the poetry and Sufism of Hāfiz. He was a peripatetic teacher of the Aristotelian type. He moved about in the class reciting the *gazals* of Hāfiz, as he went on teaching—reciting, not from any textbook in his hand but from his memory. He moved about in the class for the whole lecture hour. In his conversation and character, he himself was sufistic and took pleasure in sufistic literature, and I remember, with pleasure, his writing to, and asking from, me, as the Secretary of the Parsi Panchayat, a copy of the *Ketāb-i Jām-i Kaikhosru*¹, published, in 1848, by Abdul Fattah, *urfe' Mir Ashrafally* at the instance of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart. He recited the couplets of the *gazals* of Hāfiz, as he went on teaching them one by one, in, as it were, a kind of pleasant drunken frolic and his enjoyment was inspiring. At least, it was so to me.

I have grown up as one of those who believe in the truth of the old saying : "Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise," and I remember Inspiration to me with pleasure the early mornings about 58 years ago, when I got up at 4 o'clock in the morning for my studies, and, while studying my lessons of Hāfiz, sung loudly his *gazals*,—my singing arousing from sleep all the members of my house, the very house in which I write this Foreword after 58 years. The household was not much annoyed or disturbed in their early morning sleep, but rather enjoyed the singing,

۱. کتاب جام کیخسرو شرح مکاشفات آذرکیوان تصنیف
خدا جوی

which, at times, lulled them back to sleep. This inspiration of singing, which I had caught from my above teacher has stood me pretty well all along my life. It cultivated my voice and cultivated my thoughts. I caught inspiration from my *ustād* and caught some further inspiration of thoughts from Hāfiẓ himself. But thanks to God, one thing I did not catch from Hāfiẓ, if Hāfiẓ was ever a drinker, that in spite of Hāfiẓ's panegyrics for wine with the mention of the name of the *Pīr-i Moghān* (the old Magi) of Persia, I, now a *pīr-i moghān* myself of seventy-eight years of age, have not taken to wine-drinking and have grown up with my family, as an abstainer. Though myself an abstainer, I do not look to the question of the prohibition of drink as a faddist, and do not, following the writers of my Pahlavī books, preach total abstinence¹. With me, moderation and temperance are, as it were, watch-words of my life.

The principal part—and that a new and an interesting part of Mr. Bhajiwalla's book—is his account of the life of

Maulānā Shībli's Estimate of Umar Khayyām. Maulānā Shībli and his version of Maulānā Shībli's account in Urdu of Umar Khayyām

and his poetry. He has introduced English readers to the name, fame and work of a great Mahomedan scholar. Maulānā Shībli's version of the poetry of Umar Khayyām will be found interesting, as coming from the pen of a great Mahomedan scholar.

Maulānā Shībli begins his account of Umar Khayyām's poetry by saying, "Khayyām was a perfect master of Philosophy, Astrology, Jurisprudence, Literature and History, yet, it is surprising that in spite of this constellation of acquirements the horizon of his fame is absolutely dark."² According to Shībli, Umar Khayyām's quatrains, though they have little of philosophy, have much of good

1. *Vide* my Paper on "Wine among the Ancient Persians" in my "Asiatic Papers," Part III, p. 240

2. Mr. Bhajiwalla's Book, p. 64.

poetry. Though the poet harps several times on a few tones like 'Instability of the World,' 'Exhortations to live happily,' 'Praises of Wine,' 'Fatalism' and 'Penitence and Pardon,' "he mentions each of these topics.....every time in such a different way, that it wears a new aspect."¹

Maulānā Shībli draws our attention under the heading of "Admonition on the Instability of the World," a subject, in which he takes Umar Khayyām to be, as it were, the teacher of Sādī, Hāfiẓ and others, to the fancies of the poet in illustrating his views of instability. The poet sees in the dust under our feet, in the ground we dig, in the clay of a potter, "A hundred Jamsheds,.....a hundred Behrāms andFariduns and Khusrus"² i.e. the remains of their dust, and he asks us to be gentle even when dealing with low-lying dust and ground and clay, lest we harm the feelings of the departed worthies. It is a beautiful, and really poetic thought, and a moral thought as well. It reminds us of Shakespeare's flight of fancy in his Hamlet, where he imagines the remains of Alexander the Great "stopping a bung-hole," stopping a beer-barrel. We read. "Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returneth into dust; the dust to earth, of earth we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?" We further read of "imperious Cæsar" stopping "a hole to keep the wind away" or patching "a wall to expel the winter's flaw."³

According to Maulānā Shībli, "Nearly half the number of his (Umar's) quatrains deals with wine, many of the thoughts and ideas that he has expressed regarding wine are borrowed by Khwāja Hāfiẓ and rendered more playfully."⁴

Maulānā Shībli quotes the following lines of Umar Khayyām as

1. Mr Bhajiwalla's Book, p. 66. 2. *Ibid* pp 80-81.
 3. Hamlet, Act V. Sc. 1. 4. *Ibid* p. 83.

Shībli's Estimate of
Umar Khayyām's
Praises of Wine

showing his "height of ecstasy and selflessness" —

من ای می ناں دیستن نہ وام
ای حام کسندت بار ان نہ وام

1. e. "I cannot live without pure wine. Without drinking wine, I cannot bear up the weight of my body." This and similar verses of Umar Khayyām and similar verses of Hāfiẓ remind us of the following couplets attributed to Luther.

"Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenlang."

1. e "He who does not like wine, song and wife,
Remains a fool for the whole of his life."

Mauláná Shibli does not take Umar Khayyām to be a Sufi. He says. "He was a learned man and a philosopher and not a Sufi, otherwise, his wine, like that of Hāfiẓ, would be considered the *Wine of Divine Knowledge*".¹ He takes him to be "A much oppressed devotee of the round-going cup He did certainly drink wine and drank it openly."² Among many Eastern thinkers Umar Khayyām is generally taken to be a Sufi, and his wine taken to be allegorical. So, Shibli's above view draws our special attention. But, among the Western writers, there are more than one who generally doubt the fact that poets like Umar Khayyām and Hāfiẓ abstained from wine. For example we have an anonymous publisher of Umar Khayyām's poetry, who is of the same view as Mauláná Shibli. He also thought that Umar Khayyām was not like the other Sufis and was a hard drinker³ and that he differed from other Sufis in this that his sufism was free from the mysticism of the other Sufis, "whose Practice he ridiculed."⁴ This writer enters into some discussion in the above matter with Mons. Nicolas who did not "consider Omar to be the

I. Mr Bhajiwalla's Book, p. 83 2. *Ibid* pp. 82 83.

3. "Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām, the Astronomer-Poet of Persia, rendered into English Verse" (1872), p XI,

4. *Ibid*,

material Epicurean.. . . . but a Mystic, shadowing the Deity under the figure of Wine, Wine-bearer, etc. as Háfiz is supposed to do; in short, a Sufi Poet like Háfiz and the rest.”¹

A recent writer on Umar Khayyám, Mr. Masud Ali Varesi, who has relied on Mauláná Shibli’s “Shari’-u'l-'Ajam,” harps on the tune that “The whole Universe seems to be stamped with self.” He takes it that “Self seems to be imprinted on everything we look at or perceive by the senses,” and thinks that “Khayyám is also bitterly conscious of self But to the attainments of self, self-sacrifice is the indispensable watchword. Self-sacrifice and self-abnegation are, in other words, the key for attaining the self.”² This author very properly says “Khayyám does not confine his views on self to any particular denomination or religion; but gives the sum and substance, or the gist of it, which may be equally applied to any form of religion whatever. It fits in to every case and circumstance, ethical, religious or materialistic”³ This is just what we have to expect from a broad definition of religion as given by Tennyson—

“Cleave even to the summer side of doubt
And cling to faith beyond the form of faith.”⁴

One may say that Umar Khayyám’s view of life illustrates this. He clings to Faith without clinging to the form of Faith.

Mauláná Shibli says “Though Khayyám was addicted to drinking wine, it was not as a libertine, but rather as a philosopher Khayyám declares that in drinking wine one must observe certain conditions. Who should

1. *Ibid* p. XVIII

2. Umar Khayyám by Masud Ali Varesi of Amroha (1922) Introd. p. XV.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Tennyson’s Ancient Sage.

drink wine? How much should he drink it? In what company should he drink? If you observe these conditions, you will be convinced that none can drink wine except a wise man, for the reason that only the wise can observe these conditions.”¹ Maulānā Shibli justifies moderate drinking. He says, “Neither that state of drunkenness is approvable when a man is dead drunk, nor that when it produces absolutely no effect”² He thus justifies moderate drinking “Suppose that two persons come up before you. One of them is good-natured, sincere, truthful and honest; but he drinks wine. The other does not drink wine, he says his prayers and observes his fasts too, but he is busy all the while with slander, back-biting and crimes; he misappropriates the funds of the charitable endowments, and moulds the religious injunctions to suit his own desires. Which of these two would you prefer? Just think over it. Some people who do not drink wine often fearlessly commit crimes that are worse than wine-drinking.”³

The Pahlavi writings of the Parsis, whose religion is believed to have influenced Islam and whose ancient writings

are believed to have influenced Sufism, take
The Pahlavi Writings take the same view of the use of wine as Shibli
Shibli's View takes. (a) Adarbād Mārespand, in his

Pand-nāmeh or Book of Advice, advises his son to make a moderate use of wine, because, he who makes an immoderate use committeth various sinful acts⁴ Not only that, but he advises one to avoid dining with the rich and the hard drinkers,⁵ perhaps, with the view that he may not catch from them infection for luxuries and for hard drinking. As to the wine itself, it says that it improves by long keeping and becomes worthy of the table of a king. He compares old friends with old wines.⁶

1 Mr Bhajiwalla's book, p 84 2 *Ibid* P 85 3 *Ibid* P 86

4. *Vide* for text, “Pand nāmeh-i Adarbād Mārespand” by Herbad Sheriarji Dadabhoy, s 111 5 *Ibid* 21 22 6 *Ibid* 101

(b) The Pahlavi Dádistán-i-Díní² permits the use of wine and “admonishes every man to exert control over himself. To the robust and intelligent, who can do without wine, it recommends abstinence. To others it recommends moderation. A person who gives another a drink is deemed as guilty as the drinker, if the latter does any mischief either to himself or to others through the influence of that drink. Only that man is justified to take wine, who can thereby do some good to himself, or, at least, can do no harm to himself. If his *humata*, *hukhta*, and *hvarshta* i. e. his good thoughts, good words and good deeds are in the least perverted by drink, he must abstain from it. The book advises a man to determine for himself once for all, what moderate quantity he can digest without doing any harm. Having once determined that quantity, he is never to exceed it. The most that a man should take is three glasses of diluted wine.”³ On the subject of the trade of wine-sellers, the Dádistán-i-Díní says “that not only is a man who makes an improper and immoderate use of wine guilty, but also a wine-seller, who knowingly sells wine to those who make an improper use of it. It was deemed improper and unlawful for a wine-seller to continue to sell wine, for the sake of his pocket, to a customer who was the worse for liquor.”⁴

(c) The Pahlavi Mínokherad refers to the advantages of moderate drinking and disadvantages of immoderate drinking.⁵ It says: “He who is a good-tempered man, when he drinks wine, is such-like as a gold or silver cup which, however

2. Chapters L and LI

3. *Vide* my Paper on “Wine among the Ancient Persians” in my “Asiatic Papers,” Part III, p 240 4. *Ibid* p. 241.

5. Chapter XVI, 20 63. For the text, *vide* “The Díná-i Máiñú Khrat” by Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, pp 33 et seq. *Vide* “Dánák-u Máiñyō-i Khard,” Pahlavi, Pazend and Sanskrit Texts edited by Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, with an Introduction by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi (1913) P. 65 15th Question. *Vide* E. W. Wost’s “Book of the Máiñyō-i Khard” p 23 for the Pazend text, p 85 for the Sanskrit text; p. 150 for the translation. S. B. E. Vol. XXIV pp. 46-48.

much more they burn it, becomes purer and brighter. It also keeps his thoughts, words and deeds more virtuous; and he becomes gentler and pleasanter unto wife and child, companions and friends, and is more diligent in every duty and good work.”¹ The book then gives a reverse picture of a bad-tempered man. Then it thus refers to the advantage of moderate drinking. It says —

“ Every one must be cautious as to the moderate drinking of wine. Because, from the moderate drinking of wine, thus much benefit happens to him, since it digests the food, kindles the vital fire, increases the understanding and intellect, semen and blood, removes vexation and inflames the complexion. It causes recollection of things forgotten and goodness takes a place in the mind. It likewise increases the sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue, and work which it is necessary to do and expedite, becomes more progressive. He also sleeps pleasantly in the sleeping place, and rises light.”² Exactly the reverse, or rather worse, is the result to an immoderate drinker. Thus, we see that the Pahlavi writings take a moderate view of the use of wine, similar to that of Shibli.

Various mystical interpretations are assigned to wine, as used by Umar Khayyám, Háfiz and other Sufistic writers.

Wine in Umar
Khayyám's
Quatrains

There are some, who say that it is real wine. Many say that the word bears a mystic signification. For example, one may say that when these poets refer to the wine sold by the *pīr-i Moghān*, i. e. the Old man of the Magis, it is real wine, because the Magis were the wine-sellers, and wine-sellers cannot be expected to impart something that is mystic knowledge. But one must mark the word *pīr*, i. e. old. Ordinary

1. Translation of West, S. B. E. Vol. XXIV p. 47

2. *Ibid* pp. 47 48.

wine-sellers need not be old (*pīr*). They may be young as well as old. But here, when these Sufi poets generally speak of the old Magis, they mean Mobads versed in ancient lore. So, the wine had from them may be taken as ordinary wine, as well as wine in its mystic sense, acquired from them in conversation. In those times, learned Mahomedans kept themselves in touch with Zoroastrian Mobads.

But even holding that view, one may not conclude that Umar Khayyām did not indulge in wine. Mr. Friedrich Rosen, in his recent edition,¹ refers to a writing in prose of Umar Khayyām recently brought to light. It is known as the Nauruz-Nāmeh, i. e. the Book of the New Year. It refers to the poet's work, as an astronomer and mathematician, in the matter of the revision of the Calendar. In this book, there is also a writing on "The Virtues of Wine." This writing shows that Umar Khayyām may or may not be occasionally partial to wine. But, laying aside this question, whether he himself took wine or not, the following extract from this book of the Sufi poet will interest many a reader. We read. "The learned physicians, like Galen, Socrates, Hippocrates, Avicenna and Muhammed Zakaria, have expressed their opinion that nothing is more conducive to the well-being of the human body than wine, especially the bitter and clear wine of the grape. Its effect consists in this that it banishes sorrow and gladdens the heart, that it strengthens the body and makes heavy food digestible. It gives a ruddy complexion and freshens and brightens the skin of the body. It sharpens intellect and memory. It makes the miser generous and the coward courageous. Those who drink wine are mostly in good health, because fevers and maladies which are caused by mucus and septic mixtures (of the blood) disappear through the effect of wine, which sets these mix-

1. The Edition published after 1928, entitled "The Quatrains of Omar Khayyām" newly translated. Introduction pp. 13 *et seq*

tures in motion. The wise have called wine the touch-stone of man, and others the hall-mark of intellect, and others again the money-changer of knowledge or the standard of ability."

Umar was versed in the ancient History and Faith of Persia. He refers to the Iranian Kings, like Káus, Kobád and Behrámgore and to prince Tus. He mentions their names in connection with wine and says, that a sip of wine is better than the whole country of Káus, than the throne of Kobád and the princely seat (*masnad*) of Tus. He illustrates his view of the "Transientness of the World" by referring to Behrámgore. He does so, playing a pun on the last part *gur* (گور) of his name, which word means an *antelope* as well as a *grave*—

یہ رام کے گور می گرفتی ہے اور

بیکر کے چہ گولہ گود نہ رام گردست^۱

i. e. Behrám(*gore*) who captured the wild ass (*gur*) the whole of his life. See how the tomb (*gur*) has now caught hold of him.

He refers to Faridun² and Kaikhusrū and to the Kayānians in general.³ He refers to the Kustī of the Parsis.⁴ He, under some despair, wants to turn to Zoroastrianism. He says:

رئار مخانه نرمیان خواهم بست
از ننگ چه ارنگ مسلمانی خویش

i. e. "I will put on on my waist the sacred thread (Zunnár) of the Magis. For the shame of what? For the shame of my knowledge of Islam." This shows that he knew well Parsiism.

1. Quatrain, No. 13, according to Friedrich Rosen's Text, p. 7 (V).

2. Q. No. 282

3. Q. No. 231.

4 Q. No. 183.

We have the estimate of the belief and character of Umar Khayyām by various writers. But, of all these the one formed by Sharastānī,¹ who was his contemporary, seems to be authoritative and acceptable. He says “Umar Khayyām, Imām of Khorāsān, and the greatest scholar of his time, was versed in all the learning of the Greeks. He was wont to exhort men to seek the One Author of all by purifying the bodily actions in order to the sanctification of the soul. He also used to recommend the study of polities as laid down in Greek authors. The later Sufis have caught at the apparent sense of parts of his poems and accommodated them to their own Canon, making them a subject of discussion in their assemblies and conventicles, but the esoteric sense consists in axioms and natural religion and principles of universal obligation. When the men of his time anathematized his doctrines and drew forth his opinion from the concealment in which he had veiled them, he went in fear of his life and placed a check on the sallies of his tongue and his pen.”²

Some of the quatrains of Umar Khayyām, especially those of the class named *Kufriya*³, remind us, as suggested by

1 Abu'l Fath Muhammad Asch Sharastānī, lived from 1086 to 1153 A C He was called Sharastānī because he was born in Sharastān, a town of Khorāsān In his book, *Kitāb-ul milal wa al nahāl* (كتاب الملل والنحل), i.e. “Book on Religious and Philosophical Sects,” he has given a separate chapter on Zoroastrians (الزرادشتيون). *Vide* my paper on “The Birth place of Zoroaster” (Journal K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No 9) *Vide* my “Cama Oriental Institute Papers,” pp 129 241.

2 The Quatrains of Umar Khayyām by E. H Whinfield (1883) Introduction p XIII

3. This class of quatrains numbers fifth in the list of six, enumerated by Whinfield *Ibid* p XXIV “They seem to be irreligious and antinomian (i.e. against the rules) utterances, charging the sins of the creation to the account of the Creator, scoffing at the Prophet's Paradise and Hell, singing the praises of wine and pleasure, preaching *ad nauseam* ‘Eat and drink (especially drink!), for to-morrow you die,’”

The quatrains of
Umar Khayyām
and the Canticles
of Solomon

Whinfield¹, of the Canticles “The song of songs, which is Solomon’s²” of the old Testament.” For example, when we read the following verses, we feel, as if we are reading Umar Khayyām or Hāfiẓ—

2. “Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth: for thy love is better than wine...”
4. “Draw me, we will run after thee. the king hath brought me into his chambers. we will be glad and rejoice in thee, we will remember thy love more than wine: the upright love thee.”
13. “A bundle of myrrh is my well-beloved unto me. he shall lie all night betwixt my breasts.”³

We know that an allegorical interpretation of all this is given, and the view held is, that “The Song sets forth the history of a spiritual and not merely of an earthly love.”⁴ Various features in the Canticle are explained. For example. “The spouse is Israel ; her royal lover, the divine king The bridegroom is Christ ; the bride, either the church or the believing soul.”⁵ Umar Khayyām’s and Hāfiẓ’s verses are explained similarly.

Umar Khayyām is compared with Lucretius, both as to natural Temper and Genius and as acted upon by the circumstances in which he lived. Lucretius (B. 94 B. C.: D. about 55 B. C) is said and Lucretius to have “combined in the same degree the contemplative enthusiasm of a philosopher, the earnest purpose of a reformer and moral teacher, and the profound pathos

1. *Ibid* p XXVI 2. Old Test The Song of Solomon. Chap. I. The opening verse
3. The Old Testament The Song of Solomon. Chap. I.
4. Prof Robertson Smith, Encyclopaedia Brit (9th Ed) Vol. V, p. 32, col. 2. ll. 21-22
5. *Ibid* p. 33, col 1. ll. 6 and 14.

and sense of beauty of a great poet”¹ He is said to have found delight “in a kind of recluse communion with nature.”² He had “a passionate adherence to the Epicurean creed” and an “attitude of spiritual and social isolation from the ordinary course of Roman life and belief.”³ His “choice of a contemplative life was not the result of indifference to the fate of the world.”⁴

Just as Gœthe, of whose inclination towards Sufism I will speak a little later on, was led from the study of “Nature to Nature’s God,” Lucretius also seems to have been similarly led. Again, just as Gœthe is said to have had a glimpse of Darwinism before Darwin by his study of Nature, Lucretius is known to have had that glimpse.⁵ Umar Khayyām’s study of Nature as a part of his study for Astronomy, must have led him, if not actually to see the germs of evolution, to study Nature and must have carried him from Nature to Nature’s God. An anonymous writer on Umar Khayyām, who refers to the comparison between Umar and Lucretius,⁶ says . “Both indeed were men of subtle, strong, and cultivated Intellect, fine Imagination and Hearts passionate for Truth and Justice; who justly revolted from their Country’s false Religion, and false, or foolish Devotion to it.”

Of the different traits in the writings of Lucretius referred to by writers on his poetry, the one that brings him nearer to Umar Khayyām is his “Claim of a liberator of the human spirit from the cramping bonds of superstition.”⁷ He praised

1. Dr W Y Sellar in the Encyclopædia Brit. (9th Ed.) Vol XV. p. 50, col. 2. 1 17.
2. *Ibid* 1 35 3 *Ibid* p 52, col 2 1 4 4 *Ibid* 1 7.
5. Pioneers of Evolution from Thales to Huxley by Edward Clodd, Chap. I.
6. “Rubaiyat of Umar Khayyām the Astronomer-Poet of Persia, rendered into English Verse.” (1872) p XV.
- 7 Dr W Y. Sellar, Encyclop. Brit. (9th Ed.) Vol XV. p. 53, col. 2, 1. 41.

Epicurus, but “the ground of his extravagant eulogies of Epicurus is that he recognized in him the first great champion in the war of liberation, and in his system of philosophy he believed that he had found the weapons by which this war could be most effectively waged.”¹

Just as the ulterior views of some Sufi poets are doubted, those of Lucretius were doubted, and we read as follows in his defence “Nothing can be more unlike the religious and moral attitude of Lucretius than the old popular conception of him as an atheist and a preacher of the doctrine of pleasure. It is true that he denies the two bases of all religion, the doctrine of a supernatural government of the world and of a future life. But his arguments against the first are really only valid against the limited and unworthy conception of divine agency involved in the ancient religions; his denial of the second is prompted by his vivid realization of all that is meant by the arbitrary infliction of eternal torment after death. His war with the popular beliefs of his time is waged, not in the interests of license, but in vindication of the sanctity of human feeling In his very denial of a cruel, limited, and capricious agency of the gods, and in his imaginative recognition of an orderly, all-pervading, all-regulating power—the ‘*Natura dædala rerum*’—we find at least a nearer approach to the higher conceptions of modern theism than in any of the other imaginative conceptions of ancient poetry and art.”² Much of this defence would apply to Umar Khayyām, who had to be much afraid for his free-thoughts.

Just as Lucretius’s liberal thoughts—thoughts, a little out of the groove—got him condemnation as an atheist at the hand of some of his people, something like that occurred in the case of Umar Khayyām also. Maulānā Shibli says: “Khayyām was generally teaching Greek philosophy and his ideas were

1. *Ibid.* ll. 51 *et seq.*

2. *Ibid.* p 54, col 2, ll 19 *et seq.*

highly philosophical. When these ideas spread far and wide, the public grew vexatious, so much so that they looked upon him as an apostate and wanted to murder him.”¹

Mr. Whinfield draws our attention to Umar Khayyām’s inconsistencies, and attributes these inconsistencies to the different circumstances and moods under which he wrote,² or to the different times of his life when he wrote. He compares these inconsistencies with those in the Ecclesiastes. The Ecclesiastes is “one of the third group in the Heb. Bible—The Kethubhīm,³ or Writings”. It contained “the outpourings of the mind of a rich Jew... . . . He could provide himself with every luxury but he had private sorrows and disappointments”⁵ “One of the most striking features of the book is the frequency with which a dispairing sadness alternates with a calm pious assurance. Many have seen in this the struggles of a religiously minded man halting between doubt and faith; e. g. Plumptre compares this mental conflict with Tennyson’s ‘Two Voices.’”⁶ Rev Arthur H. McNeile explains these conflicts “on the assumption of interpolations by other hands”⁷

I think the inconsistencies in Umar Khayyām’s writings may be attributed to the same cause. Scholars are not altogether sure as to which quatrains are Umar Khayyām’s own, and which are interpolations. Again, in the case of some inconsistencies in the writings of Sufi poets, we must not get rid of the thought, that they, at times, wrote, when they were *mast* or intoxicated—intoxicated not with material wine, but with the wine of their mental ecstasy. So, just as you

1 Mr. Bhajiwalla’s book, p 56

2 The Quatrains of Omar Khayyām by E H Whinfield (1883), Introd. pp XXVI *et seq* 3 Cf P 

4. Hastings’s Dictionary of the Bible, p 201, col 2 1 19

5 *Ibid* 6 *Ibid*, last line 7. *Ibid*, p. 202, col 1, 1 10.

expect some inconsistencies from a man intoxicated with material wine, you may, if not to so great an extent at least to some extent, expect some inconsistencies from poets of Umar Khayyám's type. His poetical work is not the work of an ordinary poet who writes continuously under the limiting line of his subject. He writes in quatrains, one of which may have been written one day in one mood of thought, and another on another day in another mood of thought.

We generally find that people are attracted towards Sufism, mysticism, asceticism and the like, by different causes. Some are attracted to it by the natural inclination of their mind. Some, by a kind of deep thought over Nature and Nature's God. Some, by disappointment in their own walks of life, which drives them to seek repose in unworldly thoughts. That great German poet, Goethe seems to be an instance of the above class of men. I will speak of him at some length, as he was one of those German scholars who had led, what is known as, "The Oriental Movement," the movement of Oriental Studies in the West.

Just as Abu Sená was, as it were, the *guru* of Umar Khayyám, Umar Khayyám, in turn, was the *guru* of Háfiz.

Goethe drawn
by the Sufis
Háfiz

The great German poet Goethe (1749-1828) is spoken of as "The German Háfiz." From his boyhood he had begun to grow up, a little, as a mystic. It is said, that the great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755, when about 60,000 men were killed and the great Seven Years' War, had made him more contemplative in his boyhood. The earthquake, as a great natural phenomena, led his thoughts from Nature to Nature's God. His acquaintance with Mrs. Klottenberg had led him a little further to mysticism practised by the early Christian saints. It is said of his study of Nature and science, that he had a glimpse of Darwinism. "He succeeded in seeing, as in a vision, the great scheme of evolution applied to all phenomena of the

natural and moral world.”¹ In 1772 he contracted the friendship of Lotte (Charlotte), the daughter of one Herr Buff. She often spoke to him of the other world and of the possibility of returning from it. It is said, that they arranged, that whoever “died first should, if he could, give information to the living about the conditions of the other life.”² The pleasures of the Court of Weimar, where he worked for ten years, had led him to a longing to possess his soul in peace. He had left the Court for some time and gone travelling *incognito* under the name of Muller. He returned to Weimar in 1788, a new man, i. e. a man with a new idea, resolving to be free from “the distractions which had hitherto confused him.”³ He began to be drawn towards the East. He studied the life of Prophet Mahomed. Several sorrows, one after another, drove him in 1809 to a further life of contemplation. His biographer⁴ says, “During the storms of war, Goethe had more and more withdrawn, in spirit, from the European world and taken refuge in the original abode of man in Asia, in order in those far-off regions to restore that serene harmony of his being which had been disturbed by the discordant notes of the restless age. It was only natural that the trend of events should turn the eyes of all to the Orient.” Persia “tempted him to linger. He became acquainted with the culture of this country through its most congenial representative, Hafiz, the celebrated poet of the fourteenth century. Hammer’s translation of Hafiz’s collection of songs, the *Diwan*, had appeared in 1812 and 1813, and Goethe needed but to read the introduction to this work to be most strongly attracted by the life and writings of his Oriental brother.”⁵ The result of the

1. Goethe, His Life and Writings, by Oscar Browning, p. 75

2. Life and Works of Goethe, by Lewis. Vol. I, p 183.

3. *Ibid* p 86.

4. The Life of Goethe by Dr Beilschowsky, translated by W. A. Cooper, vol. II, p. 1. 4. *Ibid*. 5. *Ibid*.

study of the Persian Sufi poet's writings, the *Diwán* of Háfiz, took the shape of a German *Diwán* from his pen, entitled "West Ostliche Divan" (i.e. The West-Eastern *Diván*), wherein, the *Buch des Parsen* (The Book of the Parsis), or the *Parsi-námeh*, takes a very prominent place from the *Parsi* point of view.¹

There is a difference of opinion about the views of many Sufi poets. Some take them to be Sufi views, while others

Umar Khayyám Opposite Views about the trend of his thought take them to be unambiguously material. This is perhaps more so in the case of Umar Khayyám. For example, an anonymous translator speaks of him as a "material Epicurean" and not "a Mystic, shadowing the Deity under the figure of Wine, Wine-bearer, etc. etc. as Háfiz is supposed to do, in short a Sufi poet like Háfiz and the rest."² Von Hammer speaks of Umar as "a free-thinker and a great opponent of Sufism, perhaps because while holding much of their doctrine he would not pretend to any inconsistent severity of morals" Whinfield even compares him to Voltaire.³

Among the Westerners, there are several who take it that Umar Khayyám wrote the pleasure-quatrains of his *Rubáiyát* in the material sense. There are few who take the view of the Easterners. Whinfield takes both views. In some of his quatrains, those that can be put in the fifth class of his division, viz. The *Kufriya*, he literally meant what he wrote. In the quatrains of the *Munáját* type, he was mystical. He had "strong religious emotions, which at times overrode his rationalism and found expression in these devotional and

1. *Vide* my paper, entitled "Goethe's *Parsi* nameh or *Buch des Parsen* (Jour. B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIV, pp. 66-95) *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 119-148.)

2. "Rubáiyát of Umar Khayyám, the Astronomer-Poet of Persia, rendered into English verse." Third Edition, 1872. Introduction p. XVIII.

3. P. XXX.

mystical quatrains, which offer such a strong contrast to the rest of his poetry.”¹

The fondness of hundreds and thousands of European and American readers for the poetry of Umar Khayyām is

The Craze for Umar Khayyām's Poetry. What is it due to? Is it due to the beauty of his poetry or to the beauty of his thoughts and views? It seems that, in addition to the beautiful way in which Fitzgerald had, as a poet, rendered Umar Khayyām's poetry into good verse, the fondness of the Westerners is principally due to his Sufi thoughts. It seems, that the Westerners are tired of a kind of excess of materialism among them. So, they seek relief somewhere. America, the principle home of plenty and prosperity, of luxury and comforts, especially seems to seek some relief. Within these last 50 years, it has so sought relief in Theosophy, Christian Science, Mazdāism, Bábism or Bábism, Vedāntism, etc. It has founded societies and institutions for the study and promulgation of these Eastern creeds and beliefs, and hundreds of thousands have joined these new Societies. It is human nature that, at times, when it seeks pleasure and luxury, and is overfed with these, gets satiated with them and seeks a kind of diversion. For example, it seems that Gautama Buddha, himself being a man, from infancy, of thoughtful nature, was satiated with all that the devoted care of a royal father had given him of enjoyment of life and of freedom from the cares of the world. He was so much satiated with these enjoyments, that the first sight of sickness, old age and death drove him from the lap of luxury to that of simplicity. So, it seems that, for several past years, the West is satiated with its early material enjoyment, and even some ordinary mental enjoyment, and seeks relief in some calm and serene thoughts of the East. If a man of the stamp of that German Háfiz, Goethe, of

whom Napolean said in rapture when he first saw him, "Voilà l'Homme" was drawn to the literature of the East, after being satiated with the luxurious life of the West, as well as distressed with its accompanying toils and troubles, no wonder, if many others of the ordinary calibre of mind are drawn to the East, to the serene literature of the East which brought some peace of mind. That seems to be one of the reasons, if not the main reason, of the success of the poetry of Umar Khayyám in the West, though his own country did not appreciate it much.

The popularity of a poet is, at times, illustrated by the number of subsequent writers who imitate him. As pointed out by M. Mohl, in his Preface of the *Sháh-námeh*,¹ *Firdousi* having turned out successful imitators, who wrote *námehs* imitating his *Sháh-námeh*, e. g., *Burzor-námeh*, *Frámróz-námeh*, *Kersásp-námeh*, *Sám-námeh*, *Jehángir-námeh*, etc. So, Umar Khayyám seems to have had many imitators who went composing quatrains and adding them to their manuscripts of the poet. Thus, Umar Khayyám's quatrains have increased from the genuine number, of 250 or 300 at the most, to about 1200, counterfeit being added to the genuine.²

Zoroastrianism, Hebrewism, Christianity and Mohomedanism have some traits of belief common to them. Sufism is one of such traits. Though Persia is taken to be the cradle and home of Sufism, Palestine where Moses and Christ appeared, and Northern Arabia where Mahomed appeared, are also countries where its germs are found. The reason why these countries have these traits common to them is said to be their physical character. The physical character of a country influences, to

The Sufistic thoughts of Persia in adjoining countries.

1. *Vide The Small French Edition of his translation, Preface pp. LXIII et seq.*

2. Whinfield's *Umar Khayyām*, op. cit. P. XVI. :

some extent, the religion of that country. All the above four religions flourished in a region, which may be said to be well-nigh the same region. They all flourished in Western Asia; and the different parts of Western Asia where they flourished had well-nigh some common grand physical characteristics. As said by Von Kremer,¹ the physical characteristics of Palestine where Moses flourished, of the Persian plateau where Zoroaster flourished, of Palestine where Christ flourished, and Northern Arabia where Mahomed flourished, though varying in some details, were, on the whole, the same. So, "many things in the sacred books of the Parsis remind us of the Bible, and the same Notes are struck in the Christian Scriptures as in the Quran."² This is the result of "a thousand years of intercourse and exchanges of ideas between the Semitic and the Aryan tribes of Western Asia."³ So, though Persia is spoken of as the cradle of Sufism, one can easily trace germs of Sufi thoughts in the other three regions also.

Umar Khayyám is said to have "followed in the foot-steps of Avicenna" in the matter, both of "ecstatic spiritualism of the Sufis" and "the colder pessimistic scepticism."⁴ Abu Sená (Avicenna) seems to have had some influence upon Umar Khayyám Mauláná Shibli, as we see it in our author's version,⁵ gives us an interesting story about Umar's death, showing what great influence Abu Sená's writings had upon Umar. It is said that, one day, when Umar was reading Abu Sená's "Kutáb-us Shifa" i. e. The Book of Healing, when he came across the discussions on "Wahedat-o-Kasrat" (i. e. The One and the Many) "he at once got up said his prayers, prepared his will, fasted till night, performed the last evening prayer, bowed down and said, 'O God, I have

1. Khoda Bukhsh's Translation, "Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization" (1905), p. 45. 2. *Ibid.* 3. *Ibid.* p. 46.

4. Persian Literature by Reuben Levy (1923), p. 37 5. P. 57.

known thee to the extent of my power, forgive me therefore.' With these words on the lips he breathed his last." I had the pleasure of visiting, during my travels in Persia, Avicenna's tomb at Hamadán on 17th October, 1925. I learnt there that he was known there more as a physician than as a philosopher. He is known there as a Yunáni Hakím. I learnt that he had gone to Hamadán from another country and taught medicine to several pupils. There were a number of Persian couplets on the tomb. One of these ran as follows.—

ای داده تو بر کل ممالک مالک
وی راه روان کوی عشق سالک

i.e. Thy soul is the owner of all countries The path of your soul is devoted to the street of your love.

I heard there, that a well-known English physician—if I do not mistake, his name was given to me as Sir William Osler—had, out of his regard for Abu Sená as a physician, offered to get his tomb repaired, but, unfortunately, his scheme fell through¹

Edward Heron-Allen thinks that Avicenna's "fame may well have spurred the ambition of the youthful Omar."² But,

Avicenna and Umar

when in the case of Abu Sená, his fame as a scientist (physician) lived, and that as a poet died, in the case of Umar his fame as a poet lived, and that as a scientist (astronomer) died.³

Mr. Otto Rothfield thinks that Umar resembled much Abu Sená whom he respected. "The very fact that some of the extant quatrains have been ascribed both to Avicenna and to Umar Khayyám, goes to prove the similarities in their char-

¹ For an account of my visit of the tomb, *vide* my "Book of Travels" (મારી મુખ્ય ભાગ્યની સેહેલ). Pp 375 76

² The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám by Edward Heron Allen (1898) Introduction, p. VI

³. *Ibid.*

acters.”¹ Rothfield refers to some traits common to both, and then dwells at some length upon “the Nature of the period” in which they lived, and on the forces of the period from which both drew their inspiration. The period was one when, with the fall of the Umayyads and the rise of the Abbasides, the influence of the Persians—Persians who had stuck to Zoroastrianism as well as those who had become Mahomedan—began to rise. Even under the Umayyads, their inherent activity and intelligence had not died. The Umayyad Khalif Sulemán (715 A. D.) is reported to have said of these Persians: “I am amazed at the Persians. They have ruled one thousand years and never needed us for a moment, while we have reigned for one hundred years and not even for a moment have been able to do without them.”²

Though during this period, the Arabs wrote a good deal in Arabic and carried Arab civilization to foreign countries, “the pen that wrote and the mind that guided were in most cases Persian..... The impulse to the writing of history in particular came to Arabic literature from the Persian people, and no class of men has ever studied science with a more generous enthusiasm than the Persian officials of the Imperial Court. Their influence met frequent resistance. They aroused dislikes they were often rebuffed · they suffered disasters at the court of Bagdád. But they maintained their authority in affairs and learning.”³

The mind of these Persians had been inspired, not only by the ancient Orthodox Zoroastrianism but also by the new Platonic thoughts from the West, from Greece, and with Vedántic and Buddhistic thoughts from the East. Even the Abbaside rulers, in bringing whom to power the Persians

1 Umar Khayyam and his Age, by Otto Rothfield (1922), p. 14.

2 *Ibid.* p 18

3 *Ibid.* p 19 •

had a great hand, "became themselves imbued in the rena-
cent spirit. They gave themselves freely to enquiry and
speculation."¹

Khalif Al Mansur was the son of a Persian mother. He even modelled his Court dress on the Court dress of the ancient Persian kings. In his time, the Renascence of Persian thought was complete. We know that the Pahlavi Gujasht-i-Abális was the result of the religious discussions at his court. He encouraged freedom of thought, "and, in his reign Islamic culture under Persian guidance reached its last altitude."² Thus, it was the spirit of the age, the freedom of thought which admitted free criticism on Mahomedan scriptures that prepared the way for Sufism in Persia.

The Sufi writers have adopted more than one way of expressing their views. In Wein, Weib and Gesang (Wine,

Different ways of expressing Sufi Views. Farid-ud-din Attar's Birds. Wife and Song), in the verse attributed to Luther, was found one way. Farid-ud-din

Attár has expressed his Sufi views in an unusual way, in his *Mantiq-ut-Tayr*, i. e., the "Orations of Birds."³ The ancient Iranians were not without such views, of birds talking with men, nay, even preaching religion. We have, in the *Avesta*, mention of such a bird. It is called *Vishkarshiptan*.⁴ "The bird *Simurg*," which is taken by Farid-ud-din for "the Lord of the Creation" is something like the *Vish-Karshipt* bird of the *Avesta*. The *Avesta* bird is spoken of as *chiharāv* in the Pahlavi *Minokherad*,⁵ where it is said to be the leader of birds (*murva-rad*). This bird is said to have promulgated *Mazdayasnian* religion in the *vara* of Jamshed. Some writers explain such mystic writings on the basis of a

1. *Ibid.* p. 26. 2. *Ibid*

3. *Vide* Mr. R. P. Masani's "The Conference of the Birds, a Sufi Allegory" (1924), for such Sufi writings.

4. Vend. II. 42.

5. Chapter LXI.

solar theory, and some on that of the Meteorological theory.¹ Prof. Darmesteter explains this on the basis of the Meteorological theory. However, if we take that some of the Sufis have taken some of the elements of their Sufism from Zoroastrianism, we may treat the origin of Farid-ud-din's Sufism in the form of birds' conversation to be a little reflex of the Vishkarshiptan of the Avesta, the *chiharāv* of the Pahlavi Minokherad.

1. *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names, p. 52.

Introduction

Ūmar Khayyām, the Persian poet and astronomer of the eleventh century, who is so very famous today in Europe and America as a poet, was not at all regarded as such in Persia during his life-time, and he is, even now, considered there as only a third rate poet. The fact is that he was a very learned man, far in advance of the times he lived in, and the free-thoughts he had expressed in his poems were highly offensive to the orthodox section. And it is because of this, that none of the famous Arab or Persian historians has written anything in praise of his poems. They have, however, mentioned him as a learned man, a mathematician and an astronomer, who had reformed the calendar during the reign of Malikshāh the Seljūq (A. D. 1072–1092), and had published several works on mathematical and philosophical subjects, two or three of which are still extant. His poems that are full of satires against the hypocrites of his time, were altogether neglected by his contemporaries, and it is, indeed, a matter for great surprise as to how some of the manuscripts that have come down to us could escape destruction at the hands of myopic Mullahs.

Before giving a brief outline of Khayyām's popularity as a poet in our own and foreign countries, we must acknowledge our great indebtedness to Western poets, savants and scholars, who have brought this much-neglected poet of Persia into the lime-light. It would be no exaggeration to say that if the Westerners had neglected him as his brethren in the East had done, his name might have sunk into oblivion.

But to say that the Westerners were the first to appreciate the beauty of Khayyām's verses is incorrect, for the

reason that long before his name was known in Europe, Emperor Akbar had expressed his admiration for the Rûbâiyât in the following words —

باید که سر از هر غزل، خواه، حافظ
دیاعی، حسر، حبام نو دویسند ورد
خواندن، آن حکم، شراب نه گرفت دارد

1. e. “ After every ode of Hâfiz one ought to write a rûbâi of Ûmar-i-Khayyâm, otherwise, it is like drinking wine without a relish.”*

This great compliment paid by a cultured Muslim monarch to the great thoughts of an equally cultured Muslim poet was only destined to be consigned to the pages of Abûl Fazl’s “Ain-i-Akbarî,” and the few who read this work did not care to investigate the subject or express any opinions thereon. It was predestined, as it were, that only the scholars of the West should rightly interpret this great poet of the East.

It must be admitted that some lithographed editions of the Rûbâiyât have appeared in the East from time to time. The earliest of these was published in 1787 A. D. But long before that, an old MS. of Khayyâm’s Rûbâiyât, written in 1460 A. D.—probably the oldest that we have got—and also an Arabic MS. of his Algebra, had somehow found their way into Europe.

The earliest reference made by an Englishman to Ûmar Khayyâm is to be found in the Latin work “ Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia ” of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Hyde, D.D., LL D., Regius Professor of Arabic in the Oxford University in 1700 A. D.

The next reference we find about Ûmar was made in 1818 A.D. when the Austrian Orientalist, Joseph von Hammer-Pûrgstall

* See “Ain-i-Akbarî.” Blochmann’s Ed. Vol. II; p. 238

published his "Geschichte der Schonen Rendekunste Persiens," which is a history of Persian Literature. In this work its learned author has translated some of Khayyám's quatrains into German verse, and has referred to him as "one of the most notable of Persian poets, unique in the irreligious tone of his verses."

Besides these two, further references to Khayyám's Rûbâiyát are to be found in Sir Gore Ouseley's posthumous work "Biographical Notices of Persian Poets," and also in Dr. Friedrich Ruckert's "Grammatik, Poetik and Rhetorik der Perser."

In 1851 A.D. Dr. Woepcke of Paris, a Professor of Mathematics in the University of Bonn, published the text and French translation of Khayyám's Algebra.* Therein, "un plus grand de mathématiciens," i. e. the greatest of mathematicians, is the compliment paid by him to Úmar Khayyám.

In 1857 A. D. Garcin-de-Tasse translated ten Rûbâiyát into French and published them in the "Journal Asiatique" of Paris.

In 1858 A.D. Prof. Edward Byse Cowell, Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, at Calcutta, had contributed a very learned article to the March number of the *Calcutta Review*, about Úmar Khayyám. In that article he had translated about thirty quatrains from Khayyám's Rûbâiyát into blank verse.

In 1859 A. D. appeared the epoch making translation of Edward Fitzgerald, a poet of very great abilities. He was inspired by his friend Prof. E. B. Cowell to translate the Rûbâiyát into English verse. The author, however, did not think much of his version then, and consequently published

* In 1909 the late Maulana Shibli had contributed a short note on Dr Woepcke's translation of the Algebra to the "An Nadva" See. Vol. VI No. 8

it anonymously, but now that version is considered one of the Classics of English Literature. At the time of its first publication no one cared to buy this booklet at its published price, viz. one shilling; and the book-seller (Bernard Quaritch) had to reduce the price to 4d. per copy, and finally had to consign it to the penny-box. Swinburne and Rossetti, two famous poets of that time, rescued a few copies, while the remainder were destroyed by the book-seller. The few copies that were in circulation attracted the notice of literary men, and a demand for the work was naturally created, so much so that the work went into four editions during the poet's life-time, and a fifth one was published after his death in 1883. Since then, thousands of reprints of these five editions have been published from time to time, and the value of the few copies of the original first edition has now gone up so high that one of those copies was sold by Messrs. Hodgson's, on the 12th of June, 1929, by public auction, for £ 1,410, that is for about Rs. 20,000.

Thus it will be seen that the real credit for bringing this much-neglected Persian poet to public notice goes to Edward Fitzgerald. Poets and scholars, attracted by the charm of his versification,* began to study and investigate the Rûbâiyât, and they published articles and translations which are all of rare literary merit. It is not possible to mention all the works pertaining to Úmar Khayyám and published in the different languages of Europe, as that might require a separate volume by itself. I will, therefore, here enumerate only a few items that are of considerable interest to every student of Úmar Khayyám.

* Those who have not seen Fitzgerald's rendering will be able to gauge the beauty of his versification from the following quatrain —

“ Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
Before we two into the Dust descend,
Dust into Dust, and under Dust to lie
Sans Wine, sans Song, sans Singer, and—sans End ”

- (1) “ Les Quatrains de Khayyam, traduits du Persan, par J. B. Nicolas.” Paris A l'imprimerie Impériale. 1867.
- (2) “ Die Lieder und Spruche des Omar Chajjam.” By Friedrich Bodenstedt. Breslau 1881.
- (3) “ The Quatrains of Omar Khayyám, The Persian Text with an English Verse Translation,” by E. H. Whinfield, M. A., F. C. S., London Trubner and Co., 1883.
- (4) “Rûbáiyát-e-Hakím Khayyám.” Translated by the Earl of Dufferin, Viceroy of India, Simla, 1887.
- (5) “ The Strophes of Omar Khayyám.” Translated from the Persian by John Leslie Garner, with an Introduction and Notes. New York Corbitt and Skidmore, 1888.
- (6) “ Rûbáiyát of Omar Khayyám.” Translated into English Prose by Justin Huntly McCarthy, M. P., London : David Nutt, 1889.
- (7) “A Mûzaffariyé” by Dr. Sir Denison Ross (Being an English translation of Prof. Valentine Schukouski's Russian article about Úmar Khayyám and the Wandering Quatrains). The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland ; April, 1898.
- (8) “The Rûbáiyát of Omar Khayyám, being a Facsimile of the manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with a Transcript into modern Persian Characters, translated with an Introduction and Notes and a Bibliography” By Edward Heron-Allen London · H. S. Nichols, Ltd., 1898.
- (9) “ Rûbáiyát of Omer Khayyám, Multi-Variorum Edition, English, French, German, Italian, Danish Translations. Comparatively arranged in accor-

dance with the text of Edward Fitzgerald's Version, with further selections, notes, biographies and other materials." By Nathen Haskell Dole. Boston : L. C. Page and Co., 1898.

- (10) "Edward Fitzgerald's Rûbâiyât of Omar Khayyâm with their Original Persian Sources, collated from his own MSS. and literally translated," by Edward Heron-Allen. London Bernard Quaritch, 1899.
- (11) "The Quatrains of Omar Khayyâm of Nishâpûr, with a biographical and critical introduction," by John Payne, London: The Villon Society, 1899.
- (12) "Yet more Light on Ḥâfi Khayyâm," by Prof. Dr. E. G. Browne. The J. R. A. S. April, 1899.
- (13) "The Rûbâiyât of Omar Khayyâm," Translated by Mrs. Cadell, with an Introduction by Richard Garnett; New York. John Lane, 1899.
- (14) "The Rûbâiyât of Omar Khayyâm." Translated by Edward Fitzgerald, with a commentary by H. M. Batson and a biographical introduction by Sir Denison Ross. London Methuen and Co., 1900.
- (15) "Recherches sur Les Rûbâiyât de Omar Khayyâm" by Dr. Arthur Christensen. Copenhagen, 1904.
- (16) "The Life of Ūmar Al Khayyâmi" by J. K. M. Shirazi. London Kegan Paul. 1905.
- (17) "The Quatrains of Omar Khayyâm of Nishâpûr, translated from the Persian into English Verse including quatrains, now for the first time rendered by Eben Francis Thomson, with an Introduction by Nathen Haskell Dole." Massachusetts : The Common Wealth Press. 1906.

- (18) "Edward Fitzgerald's Rûbâiyât of Omar Khayyâm with a Persian Text, a transliteration and a close prose and verse translation" by Eben Francis Thomson. Mass: Privately Printed. 1907.
- (19) "Die Sinspruche Omais des Zeltmachers" (Rûbâiyât-i-Omar-i-Khayyâm) by Friedrich Rosen. Leipzig Deutsche Verlagsanstalt. 1922.
- (20) "Omar Khayyâm and His Age" by Otto Rothfield, M. A., I. C. S., Bombay Taraporevala & Sons. 1922.
- (21) "Rûbiyât of Omar Khayyâm, translated by Edward Fitzgerald with Introduction and Notes by Prof. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, Litt. D., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. Lon. A & C Black, Ltd. 1922.
- (22) "The Rûbâiyât of Omar Khayyâm," the literal translation of the Ouseley MS. at Oxford with a rendering into English Verse by C. S. Tute, with a Foreword by E. Heron-Allen, F. R. S. and decoration by Elsie Keary, M. A., Exeter: Sydney Lee Ltd. 1926.
- (23) "The Critical Studies in the Rûbâiyât of Ûmar-i-Khayyâm" by Dr. Arthur Christensen, Copenhagen. 1927.
- (24) "The Rûbâiyât of Omar Khayyâm, translated from the French of J. B. Nicolas," by Francis Dyson. Sydney, Australia Wm. Brooks & Co., Ltd. 1927.
- (25) "A Bibliography of the Rûbâiyât of Omar Khayyâm together with kindred matter in prose and verse pertaining thereto," Collected and arranged by Ambrose George Potter, London: Ingpen & Grant. 1929.

(26) "The Quatrains of Omar Khayyám, Newly translated with an introduction." By F. Rosen, London Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1930.

(27) Rûbâiyát de Khayyám." Persian Text with French verse translation by A G. E'tessam-Zadeh, with an introduction in Persian by Sayyad Nafisi. Teheran Librarie-Imprimerie Beroukhim, 1931.

The *Bibliography* above mentioned, gives one a clear idea of the vast amount of *Khārijān* literature published in Europe and America. It appears from its pages that one or more versions of the Rûbâiyát have been published in almost all the languages of Europe, including Basque, Catalan, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Esperanto, French (versions of J. B. Nicolas, Charles Grolleau, Lascaris, Fernand Henry, Claude Anet, Charles Sibleigh, Roger Cornay, Robert Delpeuck, Jules de Marthold, Franz Toussaint and A. G. E'tessam-Zadeh), Gaelic, German (translations by Hammer-Purgstall, Graf von Schack, F. Bodenstedt, F. Rosen and A. Wolff), Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Latin, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Romani, Spanish, Swedish, Volapuk, Welsh and Welsh-Romani. There are also Omar Khayyám Clubs or Societies in Europe and America.

THE OMAR KHAYYÁM CLUB OF LONDON was founded in 1892. The members of the club, as a mark of their love and admiration both of Omar and of his English interpreter, Edward Fitzgerald, appointed Mr. William Simpson to go to Nishāpur, and bring back from thence some hips from a rose-bush growing over Omar Khayyám's tomb. These seeds were entrusted to the authorities of the Kew Gardens and they carefully nurtured a rose-plant from them. This tree was planted beside Fitzgerald's grave in the churchyard at Boulge, a tablet bearing the following inscription is placed beside the rose-bush. "This rose tree, raised in Kew-Gardens from seed brought by William Simpson, artist-traveller, from

the grave of Omar Khayyám at Nishápûr, was planted by a few admirers of Edward Fitzgerald in the name of the Omar Khayyám Club." 7th October 1893.

THE OMAR KHAYYA'M CLUB OF AMERICA came into existence in 1900. In 1921 the members of the Club published a work entitled "*Twenty Years of the Omar Khayyám Club.*" The work was illustrated with beautiful photographs and contained an interesting account of the Club's progress.

Taking all these facts into consideration, and comparing them with what Asia has done for this great poet of Persia, we can say without fear of contradiction that Asia, for many long centuries, failed to appreciate the beauty of Khayyám's philosophy.

Let us now see what Asia has done for Úmar Khayyám. The earliest lithographed editions of Khayyám's Rûbáiyát appeared at Calcutta in 1202 A. H. (A. D. 1787), at Teheran in 1274 A. H. (A. D. 1857), at Lucknow and at Tabriz in 1280 A. H. (A. D. 1863) and at Bombay in 1297 A.H. (A.D.1880). As all of these have gone into several reprints it is clear that the Rûbáiyát were read in their original Persian, but no one saw so much in them as to be induced to write a commentary or to publish a translation.

It is only recently that a sudden awakening has come and several translations and works on Úmar Khayyám have appeared in many of the Asiatic languages, including Japanese, Chinese and Sanskrit. Lithographed editions of the Persian Text have appeared in Allahabad, Amritsar, Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore, Delhi, Lahore and Lucknow.

Up to the year 1904 no work on the Rûbáiyát was published in Asia. It was the late Shums-ûl-Uléma Kalich Beg F. Mirza, Deputy Collector of Hyderabad (Sind), a scholar of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, and a well-known poet and author who translated for the first time into SINDI verse, 130 of

Khayyám's Rûbáiyát from the original Persian and published them with an introduction, notes and a short glossary of esoteric words. The price of this booklet, a work highly spoken of by students of the Síndi language, was only three annas (3 d.)!

Two years later, Shums ûl-Uléma Mauláná Shíbli published his famous Urdu work "Sher-ûl-'Ajam" and therein he had devoted thirty-five pages to the discussion of Khayyám's poetry and philosophy.

In 1910 Abanindia Nath Tagore published his twelve paintings of Úmar Khayyám, in London. Tagore was the first Indian artist to devote his attention to Khayyám.

In 1912 the first ARABIC translation of 80 quatrains was published in Egypt.

In 1914 a TURKISH version of 531 Rûbáiyát appeared at Constantinople, and the first BENGALI rendering of 101 quatrains was published at Calcutta.

In India Úmar Khayyám had found a warm admirer in the late Mr Haji Mohammed Allá Rakhiá Shivjí of Bombay. The following extract taken from an article entitled "Úmar Khayyám and Local Talent," contributed to the Sanj Vartman Annual for 1927, by Diwán Bahádûr K. M. Zhaveri, retired Chief Judge of the Bombay Small Causes Court and a scholar of Persian, will show my readers the great interest taken by Mr. Shivjí.

"The late Haji Mohammed Alla Rakhiá Shivjí, a Khoja gentleman though belonging to a mercantile family, was one of the best collectors, on this side, of the different editions of his rûbáiyát. He used to say that there were already 127 different editions, but that he would add one more and bring out the 128th. He had a fine artistic sense and was the father of the illustrated periodical, on the lines of the London "Strand" in Gujarati, and his monthly "Vismí Sadi"

(Twentieth Century), now defunct, proved so popular that it raised quite a crop of imitators. He sat for hours and days together with Mr. Dhurandhar, the well known painter of Bombay, and got him to paint a series of sixteen pictures, illustrating the different poses of the characters and incidents in the Rubaiyat. The painter was made thoroughly saturated by him with the modes of life of the natives of Persia, so that he can have no difficulty in catching the "idea" underlying the proposed picture. He used to sit by his side and guide his brush. The whole set was exhibited in the local Art Exhibition, and, in order that it might not go out of India, our patriotic citizen, Sir Fazalbhai Karimbhai, Kt., purchased it for Rs. 3,000. They were published in the Christmas Number of the Times of India (1920). He had not rested content with merely getting a painter to satisfy his artistic hobby. He was a man of letters himself and had prepared three different translations of the Persian verse. He was at it for eighteen years. But before his work could reach fruition, he died (1921)."

In 1921 another BENGALI version appeared at Calcutta, containing 75 Rûbâiyât, with a letter of appreciation by Dr. Tagore.

In 1924 an URDU prose translation of 764 Rûbâiyât was published at Delhi. In the same year Mr. Mir Wali Ullâ, B.A., LL.B of Abbottabad, published his "Kâs-ûl-Kâlâm," an URDU work of great literary merit, containing prose translation of 657 Rûbâiyât with Persian text, and an introduction in Urdu. The first URDU version of 764 of Khayyâm's quatrains by Hazrat Malik-ûl-Kalâm Sayyad Mohammed Lâyak Husein Saheb, also saw the light of day in print in the same year.

In 1925 an URDU commentary on 908 of Khayyâm's Rûbâiyât by Maulvi Hâfiż Jelâlûddin Ahmed appeared in Allahabad.

In 1926 one more BENGALI edition of 339 Rûbâiyât was published at Calcutta, and a TURKISH version of 531 quatrains appeared at Stamboul.

In 1927 the first two GUJARATI versions appeared simultaneously in Bombay ; one by a Hindu poet containing renderings of 330 Rûbâiyât into Ghazals (odes) of varying lengths, and the other by the humble author of this book, which contained 40 quatrains with a succinct account of the lives of Ûmar Khayyám and Edward Fitzgerald. In the same year another TURKISH version containing 396 Rûbâiyât was published at Constantinople.

In 1928 two more GUJARATI versions appeared in Bombay. In the same year an ARABIC prose and verse translation of 130 quatrains appeared at Baghdad, and a version in TAMIL and another in ORIYA, containing 75 and 79 Rûbâiyât respectively were published at Bombay.

In 1929 the first MARATHI verse translation of the Rûbâiyât was published by Prof. M. T. Patvaîdhan, M. A., of the Rájáram College, Rajkot. In the same year there appeared in Bombay a SANSKRIT version of 233 quatrains by Mr. Ghirdhar Sharmá.*

The year 1930 saw the publication of the first KANARESE version of Ûmar Khayyám's quatrains. This and the Tamil and Oriya versions and the Gujarati rendering of Mr. Patel which appeared in 1928, are published by Mr. Jamshedji E. Saklatwalla of Bombay, an ardent admirer of Ûmar. This gentleman's collection of different versions of the Rûbâiyât, and other works dealing with Ûmar Khayyám in particular and Persian literature in general, is the best of its kind in the whole of Asia. Mr. Saklatwalla looks upon the Astronomer-Poet of Persia as a great mystic. His own rendering of the Persian Rûbâiyât into English *verse libre*

This learned gentleman has also published a Hindi translation of the Rûbâiyât.

and his "Umar Khayyám as a Mystic" are highly spoken of by many students of Umar Khayyám.

In December, 1930, Mauláná Sayyad Súleman Sáheb Nadví, an Oriental Scholar and Director of the Shíbílí Academy of Azamgarh (U. P.), read a learned paper on Umar Khayyám, before the Oriental Educational Conference held at Patna, in which he threw a flood of light on Khayyám's birth and family.

Of all the Indian publications noted in this introduction those in the Urdu language are the most interesting, and as all these items are not to be found in the bibliographies of Umarian Literature already compiled and published by European authors, I give below a short list of important Urdu literature containing direct or indirect references to Umar Khayyám's life, poetry or philosophy —

(1) "*Nizám ül-Mülk Tüsí*." Being an account of the life of Hasan bin Ali, the famous Vizier of Alp Arslán the Seljûq, by Maulví Abdûr Razzaq.

A very useful and important work published in 1911. It is a bulky volume of 711 pages. Its learned author looks upon Khayyám as a Súfi.

(2) "*Hasan bin Sabbâh*." Being an interesting account of the life and activities of "The Old Man of the Mountain," by Maulví Mohammed Abdûl Halim Sáheb Sharar.

(3) "*Tâj-ül-Kalâm*" Being an Urdu verse translation of Umar Khayyám's Rûbáiyát by Hazrat Malik-ül-Kalâm Sayyad Mohammed Láyaq Hûseín Sáheb 'Qaví' Amrohí, with an account of the poet's life by Hazrat Aiyáz Pánipati, and a short Foreword by Khwája Hasan Nizâmi. Published by Mûnshi Sayyad Qûrbán Ali Sáheb 'Bismil.' Shahjehâni-
pâri Press, Delhi, 1923.

This work contains 764 Persian quatrains with their Urdu rendering. It is the only verse translation in the language.

(4) “*Tazkirah-i-Hakim Ūmar Khayyām.*” Being a short account of the life of the Astronomer-Poet of Persia, by Malik Mohammed-ūd-Dīn, Editor of the “*Sūfi*” Pind bahuddin, Dist. Gujarat, Punjab. This author also speaks of Khayyām as a mystic.

(5) “*Kās-ūl-Kirām.*” Being an Urdu prose translation of Ūmar Khayyām’s quatrains, with a detailed account of the poet’s life, by Mīr Wali Ullā Saheb, B.A., LL.B. It contains about 657 Rūbāiyāt with commentary, notes, and meanings of difficult Persian words. The quatrains are divided into 35 groups according to the subject, e. g. Pantheism, Instability of the World, Dearth of True Friends, etc. etc. A very informative work on Khayyām’s Poetry and Philosophy. Published by the author at Abbottabad, 1923. The author believes that Khayyām was a Sūfi.

(6) “*Rūbāiyāt-i-Hakim Ūmar Khayyām Nisāpūri.*” Being a collection of 776 Rūbāiyāt and 1 qita (poem) with a short biographical sketch in Urdu by Shaykh Allāh Bakhsh Sāheb Gīnai, late of the Islāmiā College, Lahore. Published by Shaykh Jān Mohammed Allāh Bakhsh, book-seller, Gunpat Road, Lahore. 1923.

The author states in his introduction that Khayyām was Khāqāni’s paternal uncle and his father’s name was Ūsman and not Ibrāhim as is generally believed. In proof of his argument he quotes a passage from Khāqāni’s “*Tūhfat-ūl-Iraqin*.”

(7) “*Rûbâiyât-i-Hakîm Ûmar-i-Khayyâm.*” Being a collection of 908 Persian quatrains with commentary and a short memoir of the poet in Urdu by Maulví Hâfiż Jelâl-ûd-Dîn Ahmed, Senior Persian and Arabic teacher, the Government Intermediate College, Allahabad. Published by the Anwar-i-Ahmedî Press, Allahabad, 1925. A very helpful commentary.

(8) “*Rûbâiyât-i-Hakîm Ûmar-i-Khayyâm.*” Contains the text of the Ouseley MS. beautifully lithographed in bold *nastâliq* characters, one quatrain on a page, with a biographical and critical introduction in Urdu by Mîán Abdûl Azîz Mînhas, M. A (Vakil). Published by the Marghûb Agency, Lahore. 1925.

The compiler looks upon Khayyâm as a mystic and regrets the fact that his praises of wine are misunderstood and misinterpreted by many European writers

(9) “*Rûbâiyât-i-Hakîm Ûmar-i-Khayyâm.*” Being a collection of 772 Rûbâiyât and 1 qîta (poem) with Urdu prose translation, glossary and a short account of the poet’s life, by Maulvi Sayyad Ahmed Ali Hûseini ‘Nashter’ Râmpûri. Published by Shaykh Ján Mohammed Allâh Bakhsh, book-seller, Gunpat Road, Lahore, 1930. This work is specially compiled for students and effort is made by its author to point out the moral of all difficult quatrains.

(10) “*Sawâneh-i-Ûmar Khayyâm.*” The account of the poet’s life by Maulví ’Aiyâz Ikrâmûllâ Sâheb Siddiqee Pânipati, given in the book “*Tâj-ûl-Kalâm,*” published separately by Mûnshi Qûrbân Ali ‘Bismil’, proprietor of the Shâhjehânpûri Press, Delhi.,

(11) "Sowa'neh-i-Ma'ula'na'-i-Rûm." An account of Jelâlûddîn Rûmî, by Shums-ûl-Ulemâ Mâulanâ Shîbli Nomâni. Published by Mûnshî Qûrbân Ali 'Bismîl', the Shâjhânpûrî Press, Delhi.

Contains a reference to Khayyâm's free-thoughts on page 43.

ESSAYS AND ARTICLES

Various essays and articles on Úmar Khayyâm have appeared in Urdu magazines and periodicals. The following few are worthy of perusal—

(1) "Hakîm Úmar Khayyâm" by Munshî Javvâd Ali Khân Sâheb. Contributed to the "Zamâna" Vol. 12, No. 3 March 1909

(2) "Rûbâiyât-í-Úmar-i-Khayyâm" by Lieut.-Col. Dr. Bholânâth, I. M. S. Contributed to the "Zamâna" Vol. 28, No 170. May 1917.

(3) "Úmar Khayyâm" by Navâb Sayyad Khâqân Hûsein Saheb 'Arif Contributed to the "Zamâna." Vol. 39, No. 1. July 1922.

(4) "Úmar Khayyâm" being an Urdu translation of Baron Cara de Vaux's "Les Penseurs de l' Islam." Vol IV. Ref. pp. 263-277. Translated by Mr. Sayyad Hasan Sâheb Burney, B.A. LL.B. (Aligh). Contributed to the "Urdu." Vol. VIII. Part 30. April 1928.

(5) "Úmar Khayyâm" by Maulvi Hûsein Azîz Sâheb Jâvid. Contributed to the "Hûmayûn" Vol. XVI. No. 4. October 1929.



MAULÁNÁ SHIBLI

شمسالعلماء مولانا شبلي ذعmani مرحوم



The late Shums-^ûl-Ûlema Maulana Shibli No'mani

A Biographical Sketch Of The late Shums-ûl-Ûlema' Maulâ'na Shibli No'mâ'ni

BIRTH AND FAMILY

Maulâ'na Shibli was born in 1857, the year of the Indian Mutiny, at Bundool, a pretty village in the district of Azamgarh, U. P. He came of a wealthy and illustrious family. His father, Shaykh Habibûlla Sâheb,* was a *Mûkhtiâri* *vakil* practising in the courts of Bastî and Azamgarh.

EARLY TRAINING

Shibli's early education began under the direct supervision of his parents. He was placed under one Maulvi Shûkrâllâ to study all the Islamic branches of learning. More important still, Shibli grew up in the stimulating atmosphere of cultured home life. For him, home-life meant not only broad interest and refinement, but active encouragement towards literature and learning.

AT GHAZIPUR

Later on, he entered the "Chashma-i-Réhmat" or the "Spring of Mercy," a famous school at Ghâzipûr, managed by Maulâ'na Mohammed Fârûq, a scholar of great repute. Here he completed the study of the Kûrân and Islamic Traditions, and studied Persian and Arabic, Grammar, Logic, Mathematics and Literature. His exceptional ability and diligence won for him the love and respect of his venerable tutor, so much so, that Maulâ'na Fârûq once remarked to Shibli "Anâ asad o ânat Shibli," that is to say "I am the lion and you are my cub."

* He died on the 12th of November 1900. Shibli's elegy on his father's death is a touching tribute. See "Kûhyât-i Shibli," (Fârsi) p. 48.

TRAVELS ABROAD

After having quenched his thirst at the "Spring of Mercy," Shibli travelled all over India and visited the famous schools of Lucknow, Lahore, Dev-band, Rampur, Delhi and Saharanpur. He stayed for some time at the last mentioned place, to read religious literature under Maulvi Ahmed Ali, who was a great exponent of Hanafi religion—a sect to which Maulana Faruq belonged and to which his pupil Shibli was naturally inclined.

EDUCATION COMPLETED

Thus he was only nineteen when his education was completed. He had well imbued his mind with everything that the most famous scholars of his time could teach him. The education he had received from Maulana Faruq was considered to be the best of its kind, and contemporary Muslim scholars began to look upon him as Faruq's successor, and after the death of Maulana Faruq in 1910, they used to approach Shibli for advice or discussion. Shibli's knowledge of Urdu, Persian and Arabic literature was extensive. It was always a pleasure to hear him speak in any of these languages.

HIS KNOWLEDGE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

In the days when Shibli lived, the study of English was condemned as heretic by a coterie of maulvis, and therefore, Shibli was not taught English. Notwithstanding this, Shibli had managed to pick up the English language to some extent. It appears from his "Safarnama"¹ that he had learnt French from Mr. Arnold.² His knowledge of the French language must have been fairly good, because it is stated in his essay on "Kutubkhana-i-Iskandari"³ that he had studied certain

1. See "Safarnama-i Rum Misr-o Sham" p. 9

2. The late Sir T. W. Arnold, author of "The Preaching of Islam." He was the Professor of Philosophy in the Aligarh College (now the Aligarh Muslim University).

3. See "Resayal-i-Shibli" p. 121

French works on the subject. He had also studied Turkish during his three months' stay in Constantinople from the 14th of June to the 15th of August 1896.

GOES TO MECCA

In spite of all these brilliant qualifications, his thirst for knowledge was not satisfied, and he was seeking opportunities for further advancement. At this time (in 1876) some elderly members of his family made up their mind to go to Mecca for a pilgrimage, and young Shibli—for he was only 19 at the time—at once decided to accompany them. From Mecca they went to Medina, and there it was that Shibli visited every library and minutely examined the works dealing with the Hanafite sect. After his return Shibli wrote several very thoughtful essays and articles on religious subjects in Urdu, Persian and Arabic.

A STAUNCH HANAFITE

Shibli's close association with his tutor Fáiq had made him a staunch Hanafite, as can be clearly seen from many of his writings. One of his friends Maulví Abdül Halím Sáheb Sharai, a foremost Urdu novelist, remarks¹ that Maulána² Shibli used to write the word "No'máni" after his name just to show that he was a Hanafite (No'mán being the name of Imám Abú Hanifá's father.)

LITERARY ACTIVITIES

Shibli now devoted himself to literary pursuits. His entire time was taken up in reading, writing and teaching. He had a passion for books. He used to visit every day a certain book shop in Azamgarh, and would sit there for hours together perusing Urdu and Persian works of eminent authors. He never missed to read the numbers of the "Payámiyár" and the "Oudh Punch," two of the best Urdu periodicals of the day.

1 See "Makátb-i-Shibli" vol. I p. 1

2 See "Sir al-Musannifin" Vol. II p. 444

AS A TUTOR

As a tutor Shibli was a strict disciplinarian and always paid the greatest attention in imparting religious instruction to his pupils, for it was his confirmed belief that secular education without religious training was comparatively useless, and if any of his pupils neglected the study of the Qūrān, he was immediately taken to task and severely chastised.

HIS WONDERFUL MEMORY

Shibli possessed a remarkable memory. He remembered the substance of everything he read, often, in poetry especially, the very words. Some of the odes ("ghazals") he had read during this period in the "Payām-i-yār" and the "Oudh Punch" he used to repeat accurately after a period of thirty years.

HE STUDIES LAW

Shibli's early literary activities were of little practical use to his family and therefore his parents advised him, either to take upon himself the duty of looking after their ancestral property, or to qualify himself as a lawyer. Much against his own wish he began to study law, through the medium of the Urdu language, and came off successful at a second attempt in his examination. He practised for some time with his father in Azamgarh, but he made no mark as a *vakil*, because his heart was not in the work. A certain incident which occurred during this brief period of his career as a lawyer, so much disheartened him that he gave up his practice for ever.

A NOTABLE INCIDENT

One day as Shibli was sitting in his father's office, a certain Hindu landlord came in for legal advice. As the father was busy he asked his son to attend to the client. Shibli asked the client for details. The client said that he had given away his daughter in marriage to a young man

when both of them were comparatively very young. Now the boy had come of age and wanted his daughter to stay with him as his wedded wife, but he was not willing to send his daughter, as he did not like his grown-up son-in-law. Upon hearing these facts Shibli frankly told the landlord that he was much in the wrong and that there was no course left open for him (i. e. the landlord) but to go home and send off his daughter to her husband's house. The landlord, however, was not satisfied with this advice and approached Shibli's father. After patiently listening to the landlord he remarked to his son, "Shibli, you cannot be a lawyer." The senior Shibli conducted this client's case and came off with flying colours. This was too much for young Shibli to put up with, and he at once gave up the practice.

APPOINTED "AMIN"

Shibli now turned his attention to service. He got himself engaged as an "Amin" (a Civil Court Officer) in Azamgarh. In the performance of his duties he had to move about on horse-back from place to place. It was the month of Ramzán, the heat was unbearable, and Shibli found the post quite unsuited to his sensitive and genial temperament.¹ He served in this capacity for two months and during this time he performed his duties very faithfully. The most notable thing here is that throughout the month of Ramzán he never failed to observe the fast, or missed his daily prayers, in spite of the arduous work he had to do during all these days.

VISITS ALIGARH

Shibli had a great love and regard for his younger brothers. He was taking much interest in their education. One of his brothers, the late Mr Mehdi, B. A., LL. B., was at this time a student in the Aligarh College, and in 1882, Shibli paid a flying visit to his brother at Aligarh.

¹ See "Mukātib Shibli" Vol. II p. 251 Letter 20

MEETS SIR SAYYAD

This visit to Aligarh was a turning point in Shibli's career, for there he came in contact with that greatest of Muslim leaders, the late Sir Sayyad Ahmed Khán,¹ the founder of the Aligarh College. It was at this time that Sir Sayyad, who like a skilful jeweller appreciated the true worth of this rare gem, at once decided to engage Shibli as a tutor in his college. This young and promising scholar was so much impressed with the magnetic personality of Sir Sayyad, that when the latter offered him a professorial chair, it was simply impossible for Shibli to refuse that offer.

A PROFESSOR OF PERSIAN AND ARABIC

Shibli accepted the post, and thus it was that after a long time he found himself engaged in a work for which he was most fitted by temperament. He was appointed a professor of Persian and Arabic. In that capacity Shibli served the Aligarh College for nearly sixteen years. Here he enjoyed the society of cultured gentlemen like Prof. Arnold and Maulví Hálí.² They were also residing in the same building in which Shibli had his quarters.

HIS INTIMACY WITH SIR SAYYAD

Shibli was on very good terms with Arnold and Hálí. The former was, in fact, his pupil as well as his tutor, for Arnold was learning Arabic from Shibli, and teaching him French in return. But Shibli's intimacy with Sir Sayyad was the closest. They used to spend several hours every day in each other's company. Sir Sayyad was always engaged in writing something on religious, social or educational topics,

1 He was born in 1817, and died in 1898. A remarkable product of Oriental learning. Author of "Asal-i-Sanadid" a famous work on the architecture of Delhi, which was translated into French by Mon Garein-de Tassey in 1861. He had also edited the "Ain-i Akbari," and Mr. Blochmann has paid a glowing tribute to his capable editing in his English translation of that famous work.

2 Shams ul Ulema Maulví Khwāja Altaf Husain Hálí

and he found Shibli of great help to him in his literary achievements, for, not only was Shibli gifted with a retentive memory, but he had in him a natural aptitude for investigation and research-work. Naturally, therefore, Shibli had always a free access to Sir Sayyad's library.

SIR SAYYAD'S LIBRARY

This library contained, in well arranged order, most of the rare Persian and Arabic books and manuscripts, and also Urdu translations of some of the famous English works including a translation of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."¹ The perusal of many an ancient author gave Shibli much food for thought. He pondered long on the past glory of Islam when its armies had carried the Crescent westwards to distant Spain and Gaul, and contrasted to himself the then backward condition of his community. Consequently he at once decided to support Sir Sayyad in his efforts to bring about a great reformation in his community.

WRITES "SUBAH-I-ÛMID"

With this end in view, Shibli wrote his famous poem "Subah-i-Ûmid" or the "Dawn of Hope." In the said poem which was published in 1885, Shibli has recounted the past glory of Islam, the present fallen condition of the Muslims and has exhorted them to appreciate the efforts of Sir Sayyad for their betterment. This poem succeeded, to some extent, in reviving amongst the Mohammedans, the memories of their great ancestors which naturally encouraged them to endeavour to rise to their former position.

HIS FAMOUS LECTURE

It was before the second meeting of the Mohammedan Educational Conference held at Lucknow² in 1887, that Shibli delivered a lecture on "Guzishté Tâlim" or the Ancient

1 See "Makâtil-i Shibli" Vol I, p 57 Letter d 19 9 1883.

2 See "Makâtil-i Shibli" Vol I, p 83 Letter 22

Education of the Muslims, in which he described in stirring language the intellectual greatness of their ancestors, the different languages they had mastered, the great works they had written or translated, and the various colleges and universities they had established all over the Muslim world. This lecture had a very great effect on his community. It was very favourably reviewed in the Urdu press, and there hardly was a Muslim who did not peruse this master-piece. This lecture was published in the form of a booklet and it went into several editions. This lecture secured for Shibli the respect and admiration of his community, and the Muslims, thereafters, began to look upon him as a valiant member of Sir Sayyad's band of devoted workers.

HIS FIRST BOOK

The kind reception given to his said lecture encouraged Shibli to publish some works in the Urdu language containing a true account of their glorious past. At first he thought of writing a complete history of the heroes of Islam, but he found it to be so vast a subject that he had to modify this idea and content himself with writing an account of only the most famous of these heroes.* His first choice fell on Mámún the son of the famous Abásid Caliph Hárún-ar-Rashíd, because his rule was the most glorious and his sovereignty had extended as far as Spain. This work was published under the title of "Al Mámún" and Sir Sayyad contributed a learned foreword to the same.

HIS NEXT WORK

The publication of "Al Mámún" met with as great a success as that of his lecture. Seeing that his intellectual labour was appreciated by the public Shibli now turned his attention to writing the life of Imám Abú Hanifá. This work known as "Sirat-ûn-Nomán," or the Life of Nomán, was published in December 1891. All the copies of the first

* See "Makatib-i-Shibli" Vol. 1, pp. 50 and 70. 1

edition were sold off within three months, and a second edition was published in April 1892.

VISITS TURKEY

Shibli's next literary achievement was to write an account of the life of Imām Hazrat Ūmar al-Fārūq, the Tiger of Islam. For this work he had collected a lot of information from works available in India, but he did not think it sufficient for his purpose and was thinking of paying a visit to Turkey, Egypt and Syria to consult such ancient works as were not to be found in Indian libraries. In 1892 Prof. Arnold was, fortunately for Shibli, going to London on a short furlough, and Shibli looked upon this as a golden opportunity for him to start on his voyage. He spoke to Prof. Arnold of his intention, and he settled everything for Shibli. They left Bombay on the 1st of May 1892. Shibli stayed for nearly three months at Constantinople. During his stay there, the Turkish Government, as a token of their appreciation of his learning, presented him with a gold medal. After leaving Constantinople he proceeded to Egypt and Syria and returned home in December of the same year. During his sojourn in these great Mohammedan countries he visited all the libraries and colleges, and gathered all available information for his "Al Faruq" or the Life of Hazrat Ūmar which was published in 1898.

HIS "SAFARNA'MA"

The voyage which Shibli had made was purely the voyage of a scholar going abroad in search of knowledge. There was nothing in it that might please a general reader, and Shibli had, at first, no idea of publishing an account of his travels. But upon his return to his native country, his friends and admirers pressed him to give them a detailed account of his travels, because there was no such work in the Urdu language before, and the Muslims of India were not acquainted with the true state of affairs of their co-religionists

overseas. He, therefore, published his "Safarnáma-i-Rum-Mísr-o-Shám, or an account of a voyage to Turkey, Egypt and Syria. This work contains interesting details of the social and educational condition of the people. It is written in a simple and lucid style from start to finish.

PUBLICATION OF "AL FARÚQ"

Shibli's "Al Fáruq" or the life of Hazrat Úmar al-Fáruq was published in 1898. This work is a clear proof of Shibli's erudition and of his powers of research and investigation. It at once places him in the foremost rank of modern historians.

RESIGNS FROM ALIGARH

Sir Sayyad died on the 28th of March 1898. This was perhaps the most critical period in the history of the College. On account of the embezzlement to the extent of one lakh of rupees and more by a manager of the office the finances were in a shattered condition. And the differences between the trustees themselves had risen to the highest pitch. Under these circumstances Mauláná Shibli came to Azamgarh, and sent in his resignation after having served the institution for exactly sixteen years. There was at this time an English school in Azamgarh known as the National School, and Shibli now devoted much of his time to the betterment of this institution.

HIS ILLNESS

While he was at Azamgarh he got suddenly ill and went to Kashmir for a change, under the expectation that it would do him some good. But there, unfortunately, he got worse. He had to put a few finishing touches to his work "Al Fáruq," and so keen was he on completing this work that he wrote the last lines while shivering with high fever. This over-exertion had such a bad effect on his health that for months together he could not do any literary work at all. His

subsequent complete recovery was an occasion of rejoicing for his friends, and Mauláná Hálí wrote a poem of congratulations.

INVITATION FROM HYDERABAD

When Shíbli was in Kashmír, slowly recovering from his last serious illness, one of his friends Maulví Sayyad Áli Bilgrámí, invited him to Hyderabad and entrusted him with the work of fixing up the University curriculum. He held this post for three years and ten months, from April 1901 to January 1905. During his stay there, he was also elected Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdú.* He resigned the Secretaryship in 1904. He published several useful works while at Hyderabad, including "Al Gházálí" (1902), "Ilm-úl-Kalám" and "Al Kalám" (1903), and "Sawáneh-i-Mauláná-i-Rúm" (1904). It was here that he had begun writing "Sher-úl-Ajam" and "Mawázaneh-i Anis-o-Dabír".

"NAADVAT-UL ULEMA"

Maulví Mohammed Áli of Cawnpore and some other learned men of the day had started, first at Cawnpore, then at Lucknow, an institution called the "Nadvat-úl-Ulemá" with a view to imparting Islamic studies to Muslim students on modern lines. Shíbli was ever ready to make himself useful to others, and he had enlisted himself as a member of this institution from its very inception. When Maulví Mohammed Áli resigned from the Nadva in 1905, Shíbli retired from Hyderabad, came down to Lucknow and took up the reins of the Nadva in his own hands. He used his great influence with the ruling Princes and others and collected funds for the institution. He constructed a suitable building for the Nadva Arabic College (Dár-úl-Úlum) on the bank of the Gomti at Lucknow, appointed a number of learned professors, and by his own brilliant lectures delivered in the College classes helped to turn out good scholars. He gave

* A Society for promoting the standard of Urdu literature.

his own library to the Nadva and also obtained a number of other private collections of valuable books, thus making the library of the Nadva a magnificent one. He started "An-Nadva", a monthly magazine, which continued till 1910. In it he wrote brilliant articles on Islamic learning, culture and civilization. He organized annual gatherings, when once at Benares rare and costly works in the Nadva library along with outside books were also exhibited. Thus by every means in his power he had made the Nadva a genuine educational institution. This institution is still going on and turns out well-educated, cultured, religious Muslim scholars, fully acquainted with the wants and drawbacks of their community.

MEETS WITH AN ACCIDENT

In 1907 Shibli had gone to Azamgarh to spend a few days at home. In the morning of the 17th of May, at about ten o'clock, after having written a review on the poems of Firdousi, he retired to his private apartment. There was then a loaded gun lying on the arm-chair. He picked it up and while he was handing it over to his servant, it went off accidentally wounding him in one of his feet. There was no one in the house except his servants, who, seeing their kind master wounded and bleeding, began to weep and wail. He asked them to be quiet and bade them pour cold water on his injured foot. It was more than an hour before his younger brother Junayd, B.A., LL.B., was informed of the accident, when he came up with the Civil Surgeon and his assistant. All this time Shibli was bleeding profusely, because the artery was cut and it never occurred to any of those present to tie up the severed end. The first thing the surgeons did was to stop the bleeding. As the bone of the foot was completely shattered up to the knee, and as the lower portion was hanging by a mere strip of skin, there was no other remedy but to amputate the leg.¹ The amputation

was successfully carried out at his house under chloroform. It was only the subsequent pain and trouble that kept Shibli confined in his bed for nearly three months.

A PROOF OF HIS EQUANIMITY

Letters of inquiry and sympathy poured in from all quarters. This brave and gifted scholar manfully bore the loss of his leg, and retained the peace of his mind, all throughout his long illness. The following passage, from a letter written to a friend, might be quoted as a proof of his equanimity.*

خدا کا منکر ہے کہ انتداب واقعہ سے امن وقت تک
طمیعہ کی طماییت اور سکون میں کوئی کمی نہیں ہے
سوچنا ہون تو نظر آتا ہے کہ ہو شخص سر کاٹے جانے
کی قابل ہو اس کے پاؤں کاٹے گئے تو کیا ہوا؟ طاہری
حالات کی لہاظ سے نہی تسلیم ہے کہ بیجا من برس
سے بھی ریادہ کی کچھ عمر پائی، نہیں مل بھرا، دورا،
دھوپا، مل مل، آخر کہاں تک؟ خود پاؤں تور کر
بپھنا دھائے تھا، نہ بیٹھا تو قسمت نے بپھنا دیا

"God be thanked, that from the beginning upto this time, there is no diminution in the repose and tranquillity of my nature. When I think over it I come to this conclusion that what does it matter if a man who deserved to be beheaded, has escaped only on his leg being cut off? Apparently it is a matter for consolation that I have attained the age of over fifty years and have moved and walked and wandered about a great deal, how long was this to go on? I ought to have cut off my legs and been sitting down long ago, I did not do that, and Fate has compelled me to sit down."

A THEME FOR THE POETS

This sad incident provided his friends with a theme to write verses upon. Several fine rûbâiyât (quatrains) were

* See. "Makâlât Shibli" Vol. I, p. 160

written on the subject. They were published in the "An Nadvá."¹ The following quatrain from the pen of Maulví (now Sir) Mohammed Iqbál, the world-famous philosopher-poet of modern India, has been especially referred to by Shibli in one of his letters written to Maulíná Sayyad Sulemán Sáheb Nadví.²

کیا اس سے اُبی ہو گئی کوئی ساخت ممکوس
رخی ہوا حسکہ دائیِ ممکلی افسوس
اک پاؤں حدم کو کجو نہ حاتا اسماں
تھا اہلِ فسا کو امنہیاں پاؤں

It is not possible to retain the original beauty of expression in my English versification which runs as follows

Pray, what moment could there be more evil than this—
When, alas, Shibli's foot had been wounded amiss?
To the *Realms of the Dead* it must certes depart,
For, the *dead ones* were longing that dear foot to kiss

SHIBLI'S REPLY TO AN INVITATION

It can be more easily imagined than described what the loss of a leg means to one who was leading an active life. Of course, Shibli had borne his loss with fortitude, but he was none the less unhappy, as it clearly appears from the following verses written in reply to a wedding invitation from a friend of his.³

آج دعوت میں د آپکا مھی نہی ہے ملال
لبکن اسماں کچھ ایسے ہیں کہ سچور ہوں میں
آپ کے لطف و کرم کا مھی انکار نہیں
حلہ درگوش ہوں ممنون ہوں منکور ہوں میں
لبکن اب میں وہ نہیں ہوں کہ پرا ہھر تا تھا
اب تو الہ کی اخضال سے نیمور ہوں میں

1. See "An Nadvá Vol. IV, Nos 8 & 9.

2. See "Makātib-i Shibli" Vol. II, p. 66

3. See "Makātib-i Shibli," Vol. II, p. 214. Letter dated 23rd November 1907, i.e. about six months after the accident.

دل کی اہل ائمہ کی اتیہن ہوں نہ مسلی ورنہ
حیثی جی مردہ ہوں مرحوم ہوں مختار ہوں میں

Sir, I am truly sorry, can't accept your kind invite,
Your kindness and your mercy I appreciate aright;
I am your humble servant, most obedient and most low,
Alas, it's circumstances that compel me to say "no,"
As, I'm no longer that one who can wander any more,
Kind Allāh, in His goodness, having made me a Timūr,*
And thus it is I hide my griefs, myself I thus amuse,
In fact I'm dead and buried, and of little earthly use.

SHIBLI AND MOHAMMEDAN LAW

Shibli's attachment to Mohammedan Law prompted him to work out materials for the Wakf Act. Wakfs are religious endowments made by a Mohammedan. Under the Mohammedan Law and religion, a Wakf can be validly created for the benefit of the family of the author of the Wakf. But the Privy Council, contrary to the accepted interpretation of Mohammedan Law, decided that such a Wakf is invalid.

Mauláná Shibli felt that there should be no deviation from the original Mohammedan Law. Mauláná Shibli approached Mr Mohammed Ali Jinnáh and the latter sponsored the bill (known as *The Wakf Validating Bill*) in the Imperial Council and it became Law in 1913.

By this Act a Muslim can make a permanent dedication of his property in favour of his family, children or descendants, thus safeguarding it from future transfers and losses.

SHIBLI AND POLITICS

Shibli was a man of multifarious activities. From the age of seventeen he was busy doing something for the benefit of his co-religionists. He always kept himself carefully aloof from all political matters. Once during the Russo-Turkish

* Timūr Lang i. e. Timūr the Lame, the Tartar king who invaded India in 1398 A. D. and defeated the Taghlak King Muhammud

war in 1878, he had started a fund for helping the wounded Turkish soldiers.* This was his earliest public activity, but it had no political motive. Politics was never his *forte*. He was essentially a scholar and full forty years of his life were devoted to Education. His connection with the Aligarh College and the Mohammedan Educational Conference was very intimate and produced wholesome results.

HIS LAST GREAT WORK

“Sirat-*an-Nabi*” or Life of the Prophet is Shibli’s last great work. Biographies of the Prophet are to be found in almost all the languages of the civilized world. There were some already in Urdu, but Shibli’s idea was to write, as a reply to Margoliouth, a grand and well-authenticated life of the Holy Prophet. He started the work in 1912, and H. H. the late Begum of Bhopal patronised the enterprise. Before beginning to write on this subject, Shibli had appealed to those of his educated friends who took interest in the study of their religion to supply him with Urdu translations of such passages from the works of European writers as contained any unjust slurs on the character of Mohammed. Shibli now devoted the best part of his time to this work, carefully noting and correcting all such errors and misinterpretations of foreign writers, but he had written only two thick volumes when he died in 1914. It is indeed a matter of great regret that he could not finish the work during his life time, but thanks to the untiring zeal of Maulana Sayyad Suleman Saheb Nadvi and his co-workers, this great work is being continued and the fourth volume of it is under preparation at present.

SHIBLI’S LETTERS

Shibli was such a perfect master of the Urdu and Persian languages that he used to write a short and pithy letter in no time. Some of his letters are so brief that they

* See “Makatib-i-Shibli” Vol II, p. 241, Letter 7.

may rightly be called *telegrams*. But the beauty of it is, that what Shibli could express in a few nicely chosen words, could not be explained away by an ordinary person by using ten times as many words. All his early Arabic and Persian letters were written in a *shikastē* hand, but later on he adopted a fine style of handwriting that was neither *shikastē* nor *nastaliq*. His friends used to admire his letters for their brevity and elegance, and kept them as specimens of good penmanship. Shibli himself knew the beauty of his letters, but he was too modest to admit it. Once his cousin, Shaykh Rashidūddin Sāheb Ansārī, expressed his wish to collect his letters and Shibli replied as follows.¹

“ My letters are altogether insipid, why do you collect them? When they cannot please myself, how can they please others? ”

But viewed as compositions, Shibli’s letters appear almost unrivalled. They are models for a good epistolary style, clear, elegant and terse, never straining at effect, and yet never hurried into carelessness.

The idea of collecting and publishing Shibli’s letters first occurred to Mauláná Sayyad Sūlemán Sāheb Nadvi in 1909.² When he spoke of it to Shibli he disapproved of that idea. Notwithstanding, Sayyad Sāheb, who looked upon every one of Shibli’s letters as a precious gem, gave publicity to his idea of collecting them in the “An Nadvá” for October 1909, without taking the previous consent of Shibli. All the friends and admirers of Shibli at once approved of the idea, and willingly sent whatever letters they had with them to Sayyad Sūlemán. At last Shibli granted his consent, but for one reason or another these letters were not published till 1917, nearly three years after his death.

1 See “Makātib-i-Shibli” Vol I, p. 323.

2 See “Makātib-i-Shibli” Vol. I, Introduction p. 2.

HIS POEMS

Shibli's poems are the work of a man of literature and judgment. They have in them much to be admired and nothing to be despised. Of course, he was a born poet and his Urdu and Persian *diva'ns* bear testimony to his poetic talents; but he never put himself up as a poet, nor ever cared to enter into any competition with his contemporaries. He generally wrote on topics of Social or Communal interest. His verses on the Cawnpore Musjid incident had drawn upon himself the displeasure of the Local Government.¹ But, in fact, Shibli was a sincere well-wisher of the British, and in a very learned article contributed to the "An Nadvá" in 1908, he had proved that fidelity to the ruling power was a religious duty for a Muslim.

I have already referred to his famous poem "Súbah-i-Ümid." Amongst his other famous verses might be mentioned his Urdu elegy on the death of his brother Maulvi Mohammed Isháq, and his Persian poems "Dast-i-Gül" and "Bü-i-Gül."

Shibli was a great admirer of the Urdu poet Dág,² and an impartial judge of good poetry. His critical essay on Anis and Dabir published in 1907 was written in such a masterly style that it at once made the former poet famous throughout the length and breadth of India.

HIS FAME

Shibli's fame as an Oriental Scholar had spread far and wide. It is, indeed, a matter for great consolation that a Mohammedan ruler was the first to appreciate the worth of Shibli's literary activities. In 1892 when Shibli was in Constantinople, the then Sultan of Turkey, in appreciation of his learning, presented him with a gold medal. In 1894 the British Government conferred upon him the title of "Shums-ul-Uleymā." In 1895 he was elected a Fellow of the Allaha-

1. See "Makatib-i Shibli" Vol. I, p. 296 Footnote

2. See "Makatib-i Shibli" Vol. I, p. 96. Letter 38

bad University and a member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.¹ In 1899 he received an invitation² to attend the Oriental Conference in Italy, but he could not go owing to ill-health. In 1900 H. H. the Amir of Kabul decided to start a Translation Bureau with a head-office at Calcutta, and Maulānā Shibli was asked to accept the post of a Secretary³, but, for reasons of health, he had to decline the offer. In 1908 the Edinburgh Muslim Society elected him as its president. In the same year he was called to Hyderabad by the State authorities for the preliminary management of the Oriental University⁵. In 1910 he attended the Government Oriental Conference held at Simla. In 1911 on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar held in Delhi he had the honour of having been presented to His Imperial Majesty King George V. In 1912 he was appointed a member of the Allahabad Government Vernacular Scheme Committee⁴, and the Government accepted the suggestions put forward by Shibli. In 1913 the Sultan of Turkey wanted to establish a University in Medina, and Shibli, among others, was selected to compile the Text-books.

He was held in high esteem by the ruling families of Bhopal, Rampur, Zanzira and Hyderabad. He was in close touch with many great Indian and European scholars, and they carried on regular correspondence with him. His connection with the late Prof. Sir Thomas Arnold was the most intimate.

AN ADVOCATE OF ISLAM

Shibli was an indefatigable advocate of Islam. In whatever he decided to do he first thought of his religion. It was his strong belief that the most impressionable period

1. See "Sir ül-Müsannif" Vol II, p. 417

2. See "Sir ül-Müsannif" Vol I, p 115 Letter 11

3. See "Makātib i Shibli" Vol II, p. 9 Letter 13

4. " Do Vol II, p. 71. Letter 1 Footnote.

5. See "Makātib i Shibli" Vol I, p 196. Letter 97

of a student's life should not be left without religious instruction and during his career as an educationist he saw to it that the study of the Qûrân and Muslim Theology was not neglected. It was through the efforts of Shibli that Muslim children studying in Government Schools got a few hours' recess on Fridays to enable them to say their afternoon prayers.¹ He was also in favour of the Purdâh system.² He did not wish that the female sex of his community should cast off the veil and play the part of a man. But, at the same time he did not want them to remain illiterate and ignorant. He was strongly in favour of educating them. His own ideas regarding female education were very broad and liberal. He has clearly expressed his views on this matter in some of the letters written by him to the talented Muslim ladies—Atiyâ Begum Sâheba (Mrs. Faizee Rahmin) and her sister Zauhrâ Begum Sâheba. Maulâna Shibli was on very friendly terms with these cultured ladies, and they had great respect and admiration for him. But as he had decided to serve his religion, he could not champion the cause of female education, because at that time the majority of his community was not in favour of feminine reforms.

SHIBLI'S CHARACTER AND PECULIARITIES

He was a man of remarkably well-proportioned features and of a strikingly dignified bearing. Mr. Faizee Rahmin, the well-known artist of Bombay, had painted a beautiful portrait of the learned Maulâna. This painting was exhibited at the Paris Art-Gallery in 1913, and was considered the second best of all the exhibits. A big price was offered for the picture, but Mrs. Faizee Rahmin (Atiyâ Begum Sâheba) would not part with it at any price.³

1. See "Makâtib-i Shibli" Vol. I, p. 203 Footnote.

2. " do " 1, p. 21.

3. "Khatât-i-Shibli" p. 4, also "Makatib-i Shibli" Vol. II, p. 93 Letter 52. 4

Maulana Shibli was a gifted conversationalist. He constantly urged the same topics, but so great was his variety of argument and illustration, that they appeared always different.

Every character has some slight drawback, some imperfection, and I think the greatest defect in Shibli was the contempt he felt for blockheads. He mixed freely only with the cultured and gifted people, and had thus acquired a large circle of educated friends among the Mussalmans, and always used his personal influence with them for the good of his community. He cared little for personal gain.

He was an honest, plain-spoken, sincere man of a very sensitive disposition. One incident of his extreme sensitiveness is cited by his friend Maulvi Habibul Rehman Saheb Shirwani.¹ On the occasion of the Oriental Educational Conference held in 1902, when Shibli was staying with the Maulvi Saheb, a little bee stung him on the leg. This threw him into such restlessness all throughout the day that he could not concentrate his attention upon anything else. But we must not forget the fact that sensitiveness is one of the characteristics of really great intellects.

HEALTH AND CONSTITUTION

Shibli seems to have enjoyed good health during his youth. The Hon. Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain Saheb,² B. A., LL. B., who first saw him in 1887, describes him as a man of strong and healthy constitution, whose very appearance gave one the idea of a sound mind in a sound body. We do not find any mention of ill-health in his letters written from Aligarh. We first hear of his serious illness at Kashmir in 1898. This illness may partly be due to his excessive grief over the death of his beloved younger brother Mehdī who died in 1897. In

1. See "Sir-ul-Müsannifin" Vol II, p 432

2. For a short but interesting account of his life see "Sir al-Müsannifin" Vol II, pp. 433 440

the same year he also lost his dear wife.¹ After this illness we find him occasionally suffering from fever and other minor ailments² The loss of his second wife in 1905,³ and the gun-shot accident of 1907 referred to in previous pages, seem to have had a still more harmful effect on his constitution. In some of his letters he complains of extreme weakness.⁴ Maulána Abdül Halim Sáheb Sharar who met Shíbli when he was about 55 years old, describes him as looking very old for his age.⁵

SHIBLI'S DEATH

This great and gifted scholar peacefully breathed his last on the 18th of November 1914, at the early age of 57 years. There is no doubt that if it had not been for the grief over the untimely deaths of his younger brothers, for whom he had a fatherly love and devotion, Shíbli would have lived longer. His youngest brother Mehdi died in the prime of life in 1897. This was a heavy blow to Shíbli. The great grief into which he was plunged is clearly seen in one of his letters written to an old friend of the family.⁶ The death of his other brother Mohammed Isháq, B. A., LL. B., Barrister-at-Law, in 1914, shattered him completely. Mohammed was the last of his illustrious brothers, who had made a name for himself as an able member of the Allahabad Bar. Shíbli sent the news of his brother's demise to a friend abroad in the following touching words:⁷

"The great calamity that has befallen my family has buried me alive."

To gauge the depth of Shíbli's love for this brother and the great grief and sorrow over his untimely death, one has

1. See "Makátab i Shíbli" Vol II, p 2 Footnote

2. " Ibid " I, " 111. Letter 2

3. " Ibid " II, " 21 " 29 Footnote.

4. " Ibid " I, " 332 " 1

5. " " " Sir al Músaññifin " VI, " 443

6. See "Makátab i Shíbli" Vol. I, p 97. Letter 40.

7. See "Makátab i Shíbli" Vol I, p 330. Letter 1.

only to read his elegy entitled "Barbádi-e-Khánmán-i-Shíbli" i. e. The Ruin of Shíbli's Family*.

HIS LAST WISH

Shíbli's last wish was to start an institution for the benefit of Urdu authors. Its aim was not only to encourage them but to give them facilities for research work on Islamic subjects in the institution itself. Shíbli bequeathed some of his landed property for this purpose, and appointed Maulvi Sayyad Súlemán Sáheb Nádví, his devoted pupil and able assistant, as the director of the said institution. At that time Sayyad Sáheb was the Assistant Professor of Arabic in the Deccan College at Poona. He at once resigned the post, and devoted himself whole-heartedly to carry out the last great wish of his revered master.

This institution is now famous throughout India as "Dár-ül-Músannifin" or the Shíbli Academy of Azamgarh (U.P.) It has a library of its own, which contains a very good collection of rare and useful Persian and Arabic works and manuscripts. It also owns a printing press and publishes a periodical Magazine, the "Maárif." About fifty works on various subjects have already been published by this institution.

SHIBLI'S PLACE IN URDU LITERATURE

Mauláná Shíbli was a voluminous writer. His earliest writing was an Arabic essay entitled "Iskáat-ül-Mútadí," a reply to Abdúl Áhí's article on the correct reading of Fátiha. His latest work was the "Sirat-ún-Nabi" or Life of the Prophet, which was left incomplete because of his death in 1914. During the intervening period of thirty-eight years, he wrote and published various essays, articles and treatises. All of these display so much learning and accuracy that one might be led to think that Mauláná Shíbli had spent all his time in writing them, but the fact is quite different. Shíbli

* See "Kúliyát-i-Shíbli" Urdu, p 113

never worked for more than two hours at his desk every day, and he used to cover only two or three sides of the foolscap paper during this time.¹ He wrote with great neatness and precision, leaving a wide space between the lines for alteration or correction.

It is no exaggeration to say, that the place of honour Urdu occupies today, among the vernaculars of India, is chiefly due to the literary contributions of the following four great writers —

(1) Shums-ûl-Ûlemâ Maulvi Mohammed Hûseîn A'zâd (1833-1910).

(2) Shums-ûl-Ûlemâ Maulvi Khwâja Altaf Hûseîn Hâli (1837-1924).

(3) Shums-ûl-Ûlemâ Maulvi Nazîr Ahmed Dehlvi (1839-1912).

(4) Shums-ûl-Ûlemâ Maulâna Shîbli N'omâni (1857-1914).

Mr. Sayyad Ansârî, B.A., in his learned essay² on these great authors, has well said that Maulvi Azâd laid the foundation stone of Urdu literature, Nazîr Ahmed and Hâli raised a structure over it, but it was Maulâna Shîbli who completed and perfected this structure Shîbli being the youngest of them all, had the advantage of studying the different styles of these great masters, and he carefully developed a style of his own, which besides possessing all their good points, was so lucid and flowing that it appealed equally to the most accomplished scholar, as well as to the man in the street.

Maulâna Shîbli was not a professional writer. He did not write with a view to pleasing his readers. He never chose to write upon the trite and common-place topics of the day. He pondered deeply over the past, present and future,

1. See "Sir al Mûsannifîn" Vol II, p 440

2. This Urdu essay was published by the "An Nazîr Press" of Lucknow in 1925.

before writing anything. He thought over the great works of ancient Muslim authors and over the effects such works had produced upon the people in the distant past. He then pondered over the present condition of his people and over the present wants of Urdu literature. He then thought of the future, he thought as to what would be the condition of the Muslims a few generations thereafter if their eyes were not opened to their backward condition?

Maulana Shibli well knew that the ancient Muslim culture of the Abbasid period had undergone a change for the worse because of the evil effects of Greek civilization. And he also believed that the Western science and Western civilization of modern times were having a similar further bad effect on the Muslim Faith and Culture. He, therefore, decided to publish authentic historical works in which the writings of European authors were compared with the original works of ancient Arab historians, and all the unjust allegations of the former regarding Muslim religion, history and literature, were falsified. Thus, Maulana Shibli might rightly be called the greatest of modern Muslim historians.

SHIBLI'S WRITINGS

It is impossible to review all his works in this brief space at my disposal. I will, however, survey some of the most important contributions to Urdu literature. Out of his many essays and articles of historical interest, mention must be made of "Al Jazīā," "Kütüb-Khāna-i-Iskandari" and "Aurangzib A'lāmgir" as the best examples of research and investigation. Of these "Al Jazīā" and "Aurangzib A'lāmgir" were translated into Gujarati in 1910.

"Al Jazīā"

"Al Jazīā," or the capitation-tax, was a tax levied by Mohammedan rulers on their non-Muslim subjects, and this was looked upon as an indirect compulsion upon non-Muslims

to accept Mohammedanism. In this essay the learned Mauláná first enters into a long discourse on the original meaning of the word "jazia," and then traces its history to ancient times and refutes the allegation that the jazia-tax was invented to oppress non-Muslims.

"Kütüb khāna-i-Iskandari"

In this essay on the Alexandrian Library, Mauláná Shibli has proved that European historians were sadly mistaken when they asserted that the said library was wilfully destroyed by the Mohammedans. In the compilation of this essay Shibli had got several English works translated into Urdu by his friend Shums-ül-Ülemá Mauláná Sayyad Ali Bilgrámi, and had himself read and studied the French work of Mons A. Sedillot¹

"Aurangzib A'langu"

In this essay on the famous Mogul emperor of Hindustan, Mauláná Shibli has disproved the allegations made by Aurangzib's enemies and opponents, and has brought into prominence many a good characteristic of heart and mind of that illustrious emperor.

"Al Fārūq"

Of Mauláná Shibli's historical works, "Al Fārūq" is considered a master-piece. In this work he has published an account of the life of Caliph Hazrat Ӯmar al Fārūq and his times. Truly speaking the work represents the brightest chapter of Muslim History and it has been translated into Persian and Turkish. It was for the sake of collecting materials for this work that Shibli had to undertake a voyage to Turkey, Egypt and Syria.

1. See "Resayal-i Shibli" p 121

“ Al Māmūn ”

This work is the second in importance in the above series. It contains a biography of Māmūn, son of the famous Abbasid Caliph Harūn-ar-Rashīd, in fact, it is a short history of the Abbasid period.

“ An Nomān ”

Maulānā Shībli has written, not only the biographies of great rulers, but also the lives of great religious leaders. In this series “ An Nomān ” is considered to be the best. It is a faithful account of the life of Imām Abū Hanīfā. It also contains a short history of “ Fiqāh ” (Jurisprudence) in which it is proved that during the days of Imām Abū Hanīfā there did not exist any Arabic translation of the Roman Laws. Hence, the assertion of Foreign historians that the author of the Fiqāh has borrowed much from the Roman Law is absolutely unfounded.

“ Al Ghazālī ”

Another work in the same series is the life of Imām Ghazālī—the Proof of Islam. This work also contains a detailed account of “ Tassawūf ” or Sūfism.

“ Sawāneh-i-Maulānā-i-Rūm ”

This third work in the series is a biography of the famous Sūfi poet Jelālūddin Rūmī. In this work Maulānā Shībli has given a clear idea of Rūmī’s piety by quoting from his “ Masnāvī ” and has proved his greatness as a poet by examples and comparisons. The last work in this series is “ Sirat-ūn-Nabi,” or the Life of the Prophet, about which I have already written at some length before.*

“ Sher-ūl-’Ayām ”

In the history of literature series, Maulānā Shībli’s “ Sher-ūl-’Ayām,” or Poetry of Persia, is the best work in the

* See page 34 ;

language. In the first two volumes of this famous work he has given the biographies of about twenty well-known Persian poets and has compared and criticised their poems. His account and criticism of Hâfiz is considered to be the best, and the late Prof. Dr. E. G. Browne, M. A., M. B., refers to it in the following terms —

“On the whole, however, the best and most complete study of Hâfiz with which I am acquainted is contained in Shibli Nomâni’s Urdu work on Persian Poetry entitled “Sher-ûl’Ajam,” already repeatedly quoted in this chapter”¹

DR. BROWNE AND SHIBLI

The difference between the work of Dr. Browne and that of Maulâna Shibli is this, that the former has only written a history of the literary progress of the Persians whereas the work of Shibli contains a critical review of Persian Poetry in general.

USEFULNESS OF “SHER-UL’AJAM”

Notwithstanding a few chronological discrepancies in some places, there can be no two opinions about the usefulness of “Sher-ûl’Ajam” to students of Persian poetry, and it is, indeed, a matter for regret that it has not been yet translated into English. Certain parts of this work were prescribed by the Punjab University in 1914, for the Bachelor of Arts and the Master of Arts degrees.²

Dr. Browne again refers to this work as follows.—

“The attention of those who read Urdu should be called to a very excellent modern work entitled ‘Sher-ûl’Ajam’ by the late Shibli Nomâni, lithographed at Aligarh in two volumes in or about 1325/1907 and containing critical studies of about a score of the classi-

1. See “A Literary History of Persia” Vol. III, p. 273.

2. See “Makâtib-î Shibli” Vol. II, p. 84. Lette 51.

cal poets of Persia from Firdausi and his predecessors to Háfiż.¹"

"Anis-o-Dabir"

This is another work in the same series. Its full title is "Mawázaneh-i-Anis-o-Dabir." It is a critical comparison between the poems of Anis and Dabir, two Urdu poets of the nineteenth century, famous for their "Marsiás" or elegies. The publication of this work created a great stir in literary circles, because the elegies of Dabir were generally considered to be equal, if not superior, to those of Anis.

In reply to Shibli's criticism of Dabir, Chaudhrí Sayyad Nazir al Hasan Sáheb Razví published an essay entitled "Al Mizán" i. e. The Balance, in which he tried to prove that Anis and Dabir were equal masters; he had pointed out all those beauties in the elegies of Mirza Dabir that Mauláná Shibli had marked out in the poems of Mir Anis.²

WORKS ON SCHOLASTIC
PHILOSOPHY

In the series of philosophical works Mauláná Shibli first published his "Ilm-ul-Kalám," an introductory work on scholastic philosophy. This was the fore-runner of his greater work "Al Kalám" in which Mauláná Shibli, after the manner of Imám Ghazáli, has proved the importance of religion over science, and has pointed out the good points of Muslim religion, substantiated the miracles of the Prophet by proofs and arguments, and refuted the statements of European critics that Islám prevented men from making social progress. Mauláná Shibli is the only Muslim scholar who has published this kind of philosophical works.

1. See "A Literary History of Persia" Vol III, pp 107, 108

2. See "Makátab-i-Shibli" Vol I, p 327 Letter 1. In this letter Mauláná Shibli thanks the learned author for sending him a copy of his "Al Mizán" and pays him a compliment for bringing out a work of some literary merit.

CONCLUSION

It appears from one of Shibli's letters¹ that he did not think any man capable of writing an account of his life except Mauláná Sayyad Sûlemán Sáheb Nadvi. In this letter he has expressed a wish that if Sayyad Sûlemán ever found leisure from his many engagements he should undertake the work.

When the late Mauláná Shibli could see only one man in his own community capable of doing full justice to him, what would he have said of a young non-Muslim admirer of his, anxious to write an account of his life with little else to guide him in his difficult task except the letters and works of the late Mauláná ?

Of course, such a biographical sketch cannot be wholly complete in itself. In the account of his life here given I have only endeavoured to put together systematically the few facts I have culled out and verified, and to introduce him to those who, unfortunately, know comparatively little about Shibli. How far I have succeeded in this, it is for my gentle readers to decide.

In concluding this brief sketch I must express it as my sincerest wish that either Mauláná Sayyad Sûlemán himself, or Shibli's gifted son Mauláná Hamíd No'máni, should take upon himself the task of writing a complete account of the life of this simple, contented and pious Oriental Scholar, an account of his life, as complete and interesting as Hâli's life of Sir Sayyad² or Boswell's life of Dr Johnson.

A LIST OF SHIBLI'S WORKS

The following is a list of some of the most important of Mauláná Shibli's works that are available to the public.

1 See "Makatib i Shibli" Vol II, p 107 Letter 66.

2 This famous biography of Sir Sayyad Ahmed Khan, by Shums al-Ulema Maulana Altaf Husein Hali is entitled "Haiyat i Javeed" or The Life Everlasting

They can be had from any good Muslim book-depot or from the manager of the Shibli Academy ("دار المصنفين") (Azamgarh (U. P.)):

1. سیرت النبی "Sirat-ün-Nabi."
2. الفاروق "Al Fárûq."
3. سیرت النعمان "Sirat-ün-N'omán."
4. المامون "Al Mámûn."
5. الغزالی "Al Ghazáli."
6. سوانح مولانا روم "Sawaneh-i-Mauláná-i-Rûm."
7. مشعر العجم "Sh'ar-ül-'Ajam."
8. موارث الپیس و دیر "Mawázane-i-Anis-o-Dabir."
9. سفرنامہ روم و مصر و شام "Safarnáme-i-Rûm-o-Misr-o-Shám."
10. حلم الكلم "Ilm-ül-Kalám."
11. الكلم "Al Kalám."
12. آخر اسلام "A'gház-i-Islám"
(A short history of Islam for Muslim boys and girls.)
13. رسائل مشبلي "Rasáyal-i-Shibli."
(A collection of nine important essays.)
14. مقالات مشبلي "Maqálát-i-Shibli."
(A collection of fourteen selected articles.)
15. الانسداد علی التمدن الاسلامی "Al Intiqád 'alat-Tammadún al Islámi."
(An Arabic essay written in reply to a work on Islamic culture by Jerjí Zaidán, the editor of the "Al Hilál," published in Egypt. This essay was printed in India as well as in Egypt and copies were distributed free among educated Muslims all over the world. See "Makátab-i-Shibli" Vol. I, p. 194. Letter 95.)
16. اورنگزیب عالمگیر "Aurangzib 'A'lamgir."

17. مکاتیب مشبلي "Makálib-i-Shíblí." ("Letters of Shíblí," published in two volumes, they contain 770 Urdu and a few Persian and Arabic letters.)

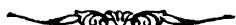
18. خطوط مشبلي "Khútút-i-Shíblí." (A collection of Shíblí's 102 Urdu letters addressed to the two well-known, cultured Muslim ladies of Bombay, Atiyá Begum Sáheba and her sister Zauhrá Begum Sáheba).

19. مجموع نظم مشبلي (أردو) "Majmúa-i-Nazm-i-Shíblí" (Urdu). (A small collection of Shíblí's Urdu verses.)

20. کلیات مشبلي (أردو) "Kúliyát-i-Shíblí" (Urdu). (A Complete anthology of Shíblí's Urdu poems including the famous "Súbah-i-Úmid.")

21. کلیات مشبلي (فارسی) "Kúliyát-i-Shíblí" (Fársí). (A collection of all the Persian poems of Shíblí.)

22. مجموع مضامین - بہلی جلد "Majmúa-i-Mazámin." Part I. (A collection of sixteen selected writings).



SHIBLI
ON
ÛMAR-KHAYYÁM

ÛMAR KHAYYÁM BIN IBRÁHIM NISHÁPÚRI.

Ûmar¹ was his name ; Khayyám his title, Nishápûr² his birth-place. Obviously, tent-stitching was his ancestral profession, on account of which he got the title of Khayyám.³

When Ûmar began his studies⁴ two persons were his fellow students, the friendship between them grew so much that they all entered into an agreement that if any one of them rose to a position of dignity he would make his associates his equal partners⁵.

1. Mauláná Shibli writes حمرو, he is the only scholar to do so, the , I think, is added to distinguish the poet from Ûmar the Caliph.

2. During Khayyám's life time, that is, in the 11th century of the Christian era, Nishápûr was one of Persia's fairest cities. It was called the Gateway of the East, and was the centre of trade and learning. It possessed eight great colleges, thirteen libraries, and several beautiful mosques. Its population was variously estimated as from 200,000 to 400,000. It was famous for its orchards and rose gardens. A Persian poet calls Nishápûr "a heaven upon the earth" in the following lines which are wrongly attributed to Anwari (See "Sher ül Ajam" Vol. I, p. 269) —

حَبَّنَا شَهْرٌ نَسَابُورٌ كَهْ دَرْ مَلَكٌ خَدَائِي
گَرْ إِنْسَانٌ اسَّمَهُ خَيَّمَهُ اسَّمَهُ وَ گَرْ دَهْ خَوْدَ نَبَّسَتْ

3. Khayyám signifies a tent maker. The poet in one of his Rûbâiyât (No. 74 of the Luck Ed.) refers to himself as—

خَيَّامٌ كَهْ خَيَّمَهُ اسَّمَهُ مَيْ دَوْخَتْ

1. e. "Khayyám, who stitched the Tents of Science" (Ed. Fitz.) but, it is not fair to surmise from these words metaphorically used, that he ever followed the profession of tent-stitching. It is his family name and not an appellation due to his having practised the trade. That he chose the word for his "nom de plume" only shows his modesty and his great veneration for his ancestors.

4. He studied under the famous divine Imám Mwâffic of Nishápûr. It was a general belief of the people that whoever studied under him was sure to be a famous man.

5. This story of the three students, Ûmar—the poet, Hasan bin Sabbâh—the assassin and Hasan bin Ali—the Ni'ám ül-Mâlk, runs so circumstantially that it sounds true, but there is a discrepancy of dates in it, and to make it conform with historical facts we must either place the birth of one of the students, viz. Hasan bin Ali twenty years later, or the births of the other

No one could imagine at the time that these school boys who were merely indulging in an idle fancy would, later on, leave their marks in the history of the world. The name of one of them was Hasan bin Ali, that of the other, Hasan.¹ Hasan bin Ali, step by step, progressed so much that he came to be the Vizier of Alp Arslān² the Seljūq, and in 465 A. H. (A. D. 1072) when Alp Arslān died and Malikshāh³ the Seljūq ascended the throne, his power was almost paramount. This is the very same Hasan who is famous to-day by the name of Nizām-ül-Mülk⁴ (the founder of the Nizāmiyā College of Baghdađ).

When Ȥmar Khayyām came to know that his fellow-student was the master of a kingdom, he went to Nizām-ül-Mülk at Isfahān. Nizām-ül-Mülk welcomed him with great respect, and as he remembered the agreement, personally inquired of Ȥmar as to what he desired to have? Khayyām could have got whatever he had wished for, but this *Monarch of the Realms of Contentment*,⁵ only asked for an ordinary

two, viz. Umar and Hasan bin Sabbāh at least twenty years earlier. See Prof Dr E G Browne's "A Literary History of Persia" Vol II, pp 190-192 Also see "Yet more Light on Umar Khayyām" by the same author in the J R A S April 1899, pp 409-420

1. Hasan bin Sabbāh, the Old Man of the Mountain, who founded a sect, the members of which used to take a maddening drink made from hashish (hemp). They committed secret murders and were a terror to the Christian Crusaders. He died in 1124 A. D., but his followers continued their nefarious practices till 1256 A. D. when they were finally subdued by Hulāgū Khān the Tārtar.

2. Alp Arslān (1032—1072 A. D.) reigned for nine years.

3. Malikshāh (1053-1092 A. D.) son of Alp Arslān, reigned for twenty years.

4. Nizām-ül-Mülk (1017-1092 A. D.), the Prime-minister of Malikshāh, a very just and wise Vizier and a patron of learning. He was killed by a follower of Hasan bin Sabbāh, thirty seven days before the death of Malikshāh. It was such incidents as this that made Khayyām complain against the instability of fortune and the dearth of true friends.

5. A well deserved compliment from Maulānā Shibli. Compare it with the following opinions of European writers. Lord Tennyson refers to him as "That large Infidel, your Omar," Thomas Carlyle speaks of him as "The Persian Blackguard", an English doctor of Divinity has gone to the length

living. Nizám-ül-Mûlk at once granted him a jaghire in Nishápûr yielding an annual income of twelve hundred rupees plus or minus a trifle.¹

Although Khayyám lived contentedly on only a small jaghire, the Sultáns and Amirs of his time regarded him as one of their equals. Shums-ül-Mûlk,² the Khákán of Bûkhárâ used to make him sit beside him on his throne, and Malik-sháh the Seljûq, the greatest monarch of the Mohammedan world, was on intimate terms with him.

Daulatsháh³ has recorded that Sultán Sanjar⁴ also used to make him sit beside him on the throne, but it appears from Shahrazûrî's⁵ history of the philosophers, that Khayyám's intimacy with Sanjar was not good enough. Shahrazûrî has given this reason for it that during the time when Sanjar was a prince he had an attack of small-pox and Khayyám was called in for treatment. The Vizier inquired of Khayyám as to the patient's condition and the latter replied that the symptoms were not good. Some one carried this news to Sanjar and he was very much grieved and disgusted and this disgust continued throughout his life.

of calling him "The Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Devil" Amelia B Edwards looks upon him as "a Sufi of Sufis, a Mystic of Mystics" This is also the opinion of Mons J B Nicolas and a few others, but generally European Scholars regard Khayyám as a free thinker and admire him for his intrepidity

1. According to Maulána Shibli, this story of the grant of a jaghire is taken from Daulatsháh, but it is to be found in the works of other historians also. The original income is stated to be 1200 *mîshâls* and not *rupees*. Mr. John Payne considers a *mîshâl* to be a gold coin worth about 10 shillings, but Shibli seems to regard it as a Silver coin equal in value to a rupee

2. Shums-ül Mûlk reigned from 1067-1079 A. D. Khákán was a title applied to the Kings of Bûkhárâ

3. A historian of the 15th century, his famous work "Tazkîrât us-Shaurâ", or Memoirs of the Poets, was written in 1487 A. D.

4. Sultán Sanjar (1086-1156 A. D.) reigned supreme for forty years (1117-1156 A. D.)

5. Mohammed Shahrazûrî, a historian of the 13th century. His history of the philosophers was entitled "Nûzhat ül-Arwâh" or "the Delight of Souls"

In 467 A. H. (A. D. 1074) Malikshâh decided to establish an observatory of a high standard. He invited several great astronomers and astrologers from distant countries. These included Abû Mûzaffar Isfizâri, Maymûn bin Najîb Wâsiti and our famous Khayyâm Ibn-ûl-Asir¹ in discussing this matter, has remarked that endless wealth was expended on this observatory; that the Astronomical Tables² prepared were specially done by Khayyâm. Accordingly "Kashf-ûz-Zûnûn"³ is a clear proof of the fame of Malikshâhî Almanac.

Khayyâm was generally teaching Greek philosophy and his ideas were highly philosophical. When these ideas spread far and wide, the public grew vexatious, so much so that they looked upon him as an apostate and wanted to murder him. Perforce, he decided to go for a pilgrimage, as there on the holy ground no one can molest another. After he had freed himself from the pilgrimage, he came to Baghdâd.⁴ Upon hearing his name people from all sides assembled round him that they should learn Philosophy from him, but he refused, and left the place for his native country.

1. An Arab historian who died in 1234 A.D. Maulâna Shibli seems to refer to Ibn ûl Asir's "Kitâb ûl Kâmil fil Târikh," the Perfect Book of History. This great work was edited in Germany in 14 vols in 1851-1876 A.D.

2. It was known as "Zîch i Malikshâhî" or the Malikshâhî Almanac. It corrected the calendar and inaugurated a new era, which was called the Jelalian Era. This era came into force on the 15th of March 1079 A.D. Edward Gibbon, in his famous work "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" refers to Khayyâm's calendar in the following terms (See Millman and Smith's 1903 edition, ch. 57, pp 166 167)—

"The reign of Malek was illustrated by the Gelalean era, and all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of Times which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style."

3 A bibliography written by Hajji Khalifa, a Turkish bibliographer who died in 1658 A.D. It contains the titles of all the Arabic, Persian and Turkish books that came under his notice, and according to Maulâna Shibli, he has mentioned Khayyâm's Almanac also.

4. Baghdad was at this time the chief centre of Arabic Culture, and was called the "Dâr-ûl Ilm" or "the Gateway of Learning."

HIS DEATH

There is an interesting story about his death. One day he was reading Bū Ali Sena's¹ "Kitāb-ūs-Shifa,"—"The Book of Healing," upon reaching the discussion on "Wahēdat-o-Kasrat" (i. e. The One and The Many) he at once got up. It was his habit always to carry a tooth-pick with him, and he placed it between the pages, arose, said his prayers, prepared his will, fasted till night, performed the last evening prayer, bowed down, and said, "*O God, I have known Thee to the extent of my power, forgive me therefore.*" With these words on the lips he breathed his last.² It is reported in "Majma-ūl-Fūsahā" that he died in 517 A.H. (A.D. 1123).³

HIS BURIAL

The story of his burial is still more wonderful. Nizāmi Arūzī,⁴ who was a famous poet of the time, gives the following account in his book "Chahīr Maqāla" which is already printed and published —

"In the year 506 A. H. (A. D. 1112-1113) when I went to Balkh, I came to know that Khayyām was at that time residing at the house of Amir Abū Saīd. I waited upon him in person. In the course of conversation Khayyām remarked

1 Abu Ali ibn Sena (Avicenna), an illustrious Arab physician (980-1037 A. D.), a man of immense learning and philosophic views, his two works "Kitāb-ūs-Shifa" and "Qanūn" were supreme in medical science for centuries. He had also written a few rūbāiyat some of which have found their way into the mass of Khayyām's quatrains.

2 Such a declaration of pious resignation seems out of place in the mouth of a freethinking philosopher like Úmar. It is more than likely that the orthodox historians, to represent their illustrious countryman as a faithful Mohammedan repenting for his follies, have only invented this story.

3 There are no two opinions about the year of Khayyām's death, even European scholars have accepted 1123 A. D. as nearly correct. Shibli refers to "Majma-ūl-Fūsahā" by Rīza qūlī Khān (1800-1872 A. D.) a comparatively recent work.

4. He was a pupil of Úmar Khayyām. His "Chahīr Maqāla" was written about 1150 A. D.

5 Lit "Four Discourses" This work was translated into English by Prof. Dr E G Browne in 1899. An annotated edition of the same was published in London in 1910 (Gibb Memorial Series, vol XI). •

that his grave would be in such a place that the trees would shed their flowers on it twice a year. I wondered, but thought at the same time that such a great man could not be an idle talker. When I arrived at Nishápur in 530 A. H. (A. D. 1135) the philosopher before-mentioned had breathed his last a few years previously. As he had the claim of a tutor on me, I went to visit his grave, taking with me a guide to point out the way. He took me to the Heerá Cemetery. I found the tomb at the foot of a garden-wall. Near the head of the grave were Pear and Apricot trees, and their blossoms had fallen to such an extent that the grave was hidden beneath the heap. The saying of the philosopher aforesaid¹ now came to my mind and tears flowed involuntarily.”²

HIS QUALIFICATIONS

Khayyám is known to the present generation only as a poet, but in Philosophy he was an equal of Bù Ali Senná, and in Religion, Literature and History he was without an equal. Jamálùddin Qiftí³ in his “Tárikh al-Húkmá” has prefaced his name with this title

إمام خراسان و علام من الرمان

i. e. The “imám” of Khorásán and the scholar of the age. And Shahiazuri, in his history of the philosophers, has the following —

كَارِدُوايِي عَلَى فِي اِجْرَاءِ عِلْمِ الْحِكْمَةِ
وَكَانَ حَالَمًا بِالْغَنَمِ وَالْفَقَهِ وَالْتَّوَارِيخِ

1. i.e. Úmar Khayyám

2. He was moved to think that Death had not spared even such a great man as Khayyám was

3. Avicenna. See note on p. 57

4. Jamálùddin Qiftí (1172-1248 A. D.), a famous Arab historian. His work “Tárikh-ül-Húkmá” or “History of the Learned” contains biographical sketches of about 400 well known learned men. This work was edited by Dr. Julius Lippert of Germany in 1903.”

i. e. *He was the follower of Abū Ali¹ in the sphere of philosophical sciences and he was a scholar of philology, Fiqah (jurisprudence) and history.*

The retentive power of his memory was such, that once, he happened to see a book in Isfahān,² which he read over seven times, and after returning to Nishāpūr, he dictated the whole of it by memory. When this was compared with the original, it was found to contain very little difference !

One day there was a scientific gathering at the house of Vizier Abdūr Razzāq,³ Abu Hasan Ghazālī,⁴ who was a leader of his time in the art of reading the Qūrān, was also present. By an accident, Khayyām happened to come up there. Upon seeing him enter, Abdūr Razzāq exclaimed : **عَلَى الْمُهَمَّهِ سَلَطَنًا**, that is to say, *the expert has come.* They placed the disputed point before Khayyām. He enumerated the seven readings, discussed their peculiarities, and after much reasoning and argument, gave preference to one reading in particular. At this Ghazālī exclaimed . “ Such learned arguments are not known, even to the best of readers.”⁵

Qāzī Abdūr Rashīd has written . “ One day I happened to meet Khayyām at a public bath at Merv. I asked him the meaning of a certain chapter in the Qūrān, I also inquired why certain terms occurred again and again in these chapters.

1. Avicenna

2. The ancient capital of Persia. It had a population of over a million souls and was a centre of Mohammedan learning. Like Nishāpūr it possessed many beautiful groves and orchards.

3. Most probably the Vizier of Sultan Sanjār who reigned from 1117 to 1156 A. D.

4. Dr. Sir Denison Ross, in the biographical sketch prefixed to the edition of Fitzgerald's *Rūhāyat* published by Messrs. Methuen & Co, remarks that this Ghazālī should not be confounded with Al Ghazālī—the Proof of Islām (In the “ Tārikh Hūkmā al Islām ” of Zaherūddin al Beyhāqi written before 549 A. H. (A. D. 1154) the name is mentioned as Abūl Hasan al Ghazzāl. See Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution. Vol. V, part III.)

5. A compliment to Khayyām, that his knowledge of Religion was far superior to that of the so called professional Qūrān readers.

Khayyám gave an extempore reply. He explained the interpreters' reasons and arguments with so much ease and amplification that if the whole discourse had been written down it would have made a fairly big book.'

Owing to his philosophical ideas, religious men were against him. In this age Imám Ghazálí¹ was the leader of the Divines, who had tried to pull down philosophers by writing a book called "Tahafat-ül-Falásifa" (Destruction of the Philosophers). He called upon Khayyám with a view to disputation and asked him that since all the celestial parts were similar and identical in origin, what was the peculiarity in those parts of the heavens which became the poles? Khayyám was very parsimonious in discussing philosophic problems. He at first tried to get rid of him by saying that he had treated this proposition in detail in his book "Aráyas-un-Nafáyas,"² but when pressed to explain it, Khayyám began with the statement that movement belonged to such and such a category, and dealt with it to such an extent that he had not yet finished his argument when the mid-day call to prayers was heard, and Imám Ghazálí left him, saying

ط الحق و دهره المسلط ان المسلط كان ذ هوقا

i. e. "Truth is come, and falsehood is vanished,
and shall not return any more."³

Although Astrology is an obsolete science, yet the Greek philosophers generally believed in it, and this belief was transmitted to the Mohammedans. Khayyám was a perfect

1. Abú Hamid al Ghazálí, according to Shibli, Imám Mohammed bin Mohammed Ghazálí (1059 1111 A. D.), a famous philosopher and divine Author of numerous works on Religion and Philosophy. Was for several years a Professor in the Nizámiyá College at Baghhdád. For his many valuable services to Islam, he was called "Hüjjat ül-Islám" or the Proof of Islam. Shibli's "Al Ghazálí" contains an interesting account of the life of this greatest of Muslim theologians.

2. One of Khayyám's works on Physical science, no longer extant

3. See "The Korán" by G. Sale ch XXXV, p. 326

master of this science, and was, therefore, called an astrologer. In 508 A. H. (A. D. 1113) the ruling monarch¹ of the day sent his man to Khwāja-i-Būzūrg Sadrūddin Mohammed bin al-Mūzaffar with the news that he wished to go hunting, and therefore, he (i. e. the Khwāja) should request Khayyām to fix such a day, by means of astrological calculations, as would be free from rain and snow. After two days of reflection and meditation, Khayyām appointed a day. The monarch started on that day. Hardly had they all gone a mile or two, when clouds began to lower, and soon there was a snow-fall all around. People laughed at Khayyām. The monarch thought of returning from the place, but Khayyām declared that the clouds would soon pass away, and the ground would not be moist again for five days together. Incidentally, Khayyām's prophecy came out true.

HIS WORKS

His works are very limited in number. The Almanac that was prepared is not to be found in our Muslim countries, but Europe has printed and published the same.² The following few short essays³ are mentioned by Shahrazuri:—

1 Sultān Sanjār. See Shibli's "Al Ghazali" p. 26

2 I do not know on what authority has Maulāna Shibli made this assertion. The Almanac is no longer extant. It is not reasonable to surmise that Shibli mistakes the Algebra for the Almanac, for he had actually studied the text and translation of the Algebra published by Dr. Woepcke of Paris in 1851, and he had contributed a short note on that work to the "An Nadva" Vol. VI, No. 8

3 Besides these essays the following works of Khayyām have survived up to this day —

1 *Rubāyāt* The world famous Persian quatrains

2 *Algebra* Translated into French by Dr. Woepcke in 1851

3 *Some Difficulties of Euclid's Definitions* (This work exists in MS in the Leyden library.)

4 *Nāorūz Nāmeh* (A MS. of this work dated 1365 A. D. is only recently come to light. The famous German scholar Dr. F. Rosen is investigating the matter. See his latest work "The Quatrains of Omar Khayyām" Published by Methuen & Co. Ltd. Lon. 1930.

A short essay on *Natural Science*.

An essay on *Existence*.

„ „ „ „ *Life and Worldly Troubles.* (This essay has been recently printed in Egypt.)

He has written many verses in Arabic, a few of them are given below from Shahrazûri.

يُدْتَرِلِ الدُّنْيَا بِالسَّنَعَةِ الْعُلَى
أَصْوَمُ عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ جَهْرًا وَخُفْفَةً
وَلَكَ عَصَبَةٌ صَلَّتْ عَنِ الْحَقِّ فَاهْتَدَتْ
فَإِنَّ صِرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ نَصَارَىٰ

إِذَا قَعَتْ نَفْسِي مَيْسُورٌ تَلْعَبْهُ
أَمْنُتْ تَصَارِيفَ الْحَوَادِبِ كَلْهَا
وَهَبْنِي اتَّحَدْتُ الشِّعْرَيْنِ مَنَازِلِ
الَّيْسَ قَضَى التَّرْحُنُ فِي حُكْمِهِ يَانِ
مَتَّى بَاعَدَتْ دُنْيَاكَ كَانَ مُصِيَّةً
إِذَا كَانَ مَخْضُولُ الْحَيَاةِ مَهِيَّةً

عَيْنِتُ دَهْرًا طَوِيلًا فِي الْبَسَاسِ أَجْ
مَكَّاً إِلَيْهِ وَكَمْ آتَيْتُ عَسْرًا أَجْ
وَقْلَتُ لِلْنَّفْسِ مَا تَعْرِفُ مَطْلَبَهَا
بِرْغَى وَدَادِنِي إِدَأْ دُوْحَلَةَخَانَا
وَكُوكَبَدَلَتْ بِالْأَخْزَانِ أَخْزَانَا
بِاللَّهِ مَا تَأْلِهِي مَا عَيْشَتِ إِنْكَانَا

*Translation of Khayyām's Arabic Verses**

If my mind be perturbed, the world, nay the seven heavens, nay the loftiest horizon, exercise their diplomacy on my behalf.

I abstain (lit. fast) from indecency, openly and secretly, keeping myself pious; and my breaking the fast consists in the purification of my soul

And how many a band of people, who had gone astray from the right path, have been guided towards the right path through my overflowing bounty.

In reality the right path is one's own insight, which acts as a bridge across the ravine of error (lit blindness).

When my soul is contented with what little means of subsistence my hands and arms have obtained,

Then I have no fear of the vicissitudes of Times, so, O Time, I do not care whether you threaten me or promise me help.

And supposing that I, as it were, had taken my abode in the two stars of Sirius, and my course lay beyond Farqadain (two stars near the Pole),—

Has not God decreed that all good fortune at last changes into misfortune.

When you depart from your world, it is a calamity, then O the wonder, of the living in this world and the one who departs.

When the upshot of life is death, then the condition of one who is always bestirring himself and the condition of one who sits idle are equal

* This translation of Khayyām's Arabic verses is done by Prof. Abdāl Azīz Memān of the Aligarh Muslim University. To the best of my knowledge, no English translation of these verses has been published in Europe or America. A German translation by Dr. F. Rosen appeared in 1926, in the "Z. D. M. G." Vol. 58, pp. 303-304.

I have lived a long age in search of a friend who will care for my friendship when every other friend betrays.

How often I have made friends with the undeserving, and thus exchanged one sorrow with another.

I said to my soul when the achievement of its object became difficult, "By God, thou shalt not find a worthy man as long as thou livest."

RUBAIYAT¹

Khayyām was a perfect master of Philosophy, Astrology, Jurisprudence, Literature and History, yet, it is surprising that in spite of this constellation of acquirements the horizon of his fame is absolutely dark.

The thing which has immortalized him for eight hundred years, are a few Persian quatrains, and they are the main-stay of his fame. Europeans have shown a thousand times greater solicitude for these Rūbāiyāt than Mohammedans.

The original subject of my book² is Poetry, I must, therefore, first of all, see to the poetical side of the question in investigating these Rūbāiyāt. Let it be granted that these quatrains do not contain any philosophy, any moral precepts or any complicated points. The only question is to find out whether these poems possess the beauty and lucidity of diction, in other words, we have to decide that if Khayyām was not a philosopher, was he not at least a good poet?

Now the most essential item in Poetry is the charm and novelty in the style of diction. A poet takes an ordinary thing for his subject and describes it in such a rare and pleasing manner that all are moved to ecstasy. There are various

1. "Rūbāiyāt" is the plural of "rūbāi" which is a stanza of four lines, the first, second and fourth lines of which rhyme together, the third one is blank, but sometimes all the four lines are rhyming. Each "rūbāi" is a complete poem in itself, and has no connection with the one that precedes or follows it.

2. i. e. "Sher ul 'Ajam."

ways whereby this charm in the style of diction is produced. Sometimes, it is the mere ease, brilliancy and purity of language, sometimes it is the change in the ordinary form of expression; sometimes it is the poetical style of arguments; sometimes it is the wit and humour; and sometimes it is the singularity of comparisons and metaphors that produces this effect. The truth is that these beauties cannot be fixed and specified, the hearers only feel that something has touched their hearts, but they do not know what it is that touched them and how and why.

طوبی همین کوشش و ناز، حرام نسبت
بسیار مشیوه‌ها است نیان را که نام نسبت

Their only charm lies not in graceful gait,
Fair ones have charms we cannot numerate.

Khayyām's quatrains are innumerable,* but, they all

* The exact number of quatrains written by the poet is not ascertained. The number varies differently in different MSS. and Lithographed Editions of the Rūbāiyat, as will be seen from the following table —

MSS.	DATE	QTRS	LIBRARY
The Ouseley No 140	865 A H (A D 1460)	158	The Bodleian, Oxford, England
Suppl Pers No 1417 ff 59 86	879 „ „ („ „ 1474)	149	The Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Ancient Fonds No 349 ff 181-210	902 „ „ („ „ 1496)	213	do
Suppl Pers No 823 ff 92v-113r	934 „ „ („ „ 1528)	349	do.
Suppl Pers No 826 ff 490v 394i	947 „ „ („ „ 1540)	74	do.
The Manuscript	961 „ „ („ „ 1553)	604	The Public Library, Bankipore
„ „ or 331	1033 „ „ („ „ 1623)	545	The British Museum, London
„ „ or 5011	1079 „ „ („ „ 1668)	400	do.
„ „ copy	Copied in A D 1840	369	The Nawab of Tonk's Library
Suppl Pers No 1481	No Date	34	The Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Petermann 56 ff 88v-101	„ „	238	„ Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.
The Manuscript or 596b	„ „	269	„ British Museum, London.
„ „	„ „	290	„ Asiatic Museum, Leningard.

treat of a few selected topics only—"Instability of the World," "Exhortation to live happily," "Praises of wine," "Fatalism" and "Penitence and Pardon." He mentions each of these topics a hundred times, but every time in such a different way, that it wears a new aspect.

The subject of warning mankind against the instability of the world is a very commonplace one, but every time Khayyám finds out such a novel way of expressing his ideas that it produces a new effect. The topic of Penitence and Pardon is also a worn-out one, but the way in which Khayyám presents it is such that he moves his hearers to tears. In several places leaving aside this touching style, he adopts a style of arguments, and he is so strong therein, that it is impossible to refute him. Compare the following examples

RUBAI

و سجن خم بیچد من رحمت کن
و حان و دل اسرار من رحمت کن
و پای خرابا برو من نهای
و دست بمالگیر من رحمت کن

Have mercy on this woeful breast of mine,
And on my heart and soul in their confine,

MSS.	DATI	QTS	LIBRARY
The Manuscript No 367	No Date	406	The Bodleian, Oxford, England
„ Lathographed Ed	174 A.D	438	Published at Calcutta
„ „ „	1836 „	438	Published at Calcutta
„ „ „	1857 „	464	„ Telieran
„ „ „	1863 „	736	„ Tabriz
„ „ „	1880 „	453	„ Bombay
„ „ „	1888 „	770	„ St Peters burg
„ „ „	1894 „	„	„ Lucknow

For further information on the subject consult the following works
 "Recherches Sur les Rübäiyât de Omar Hayyâm" Dr Arthur Christensen.
 "Critical studies in the Rubaiyat of Úmar-i-Khayyâm" Dr Arthur Christensen. "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" April 1898, pp. 349 366

Pardon my feet that tavernwards depart
Forgive this hand that holds the cup of wine.

He prays for pardon, but not for himself, rather for others, that is, for arms and legs (though the arms and legs are his own), this tends to add force to his prayer, because to pray for one's self is after all selfishness. The thing is that he can easily prove the innocence of the organs as they are mere tools and unable to do anything of their own accord. The comparison between arms and legs have also produced a pleasing figure of speech.

در ملک، تو اد طاعت، ما همچ مرود
و در معصیت که هست انتصاله بود
بگدار و مگجر زاد، معلوم مند
گرددگ دیوی و گوارنده رود

Naught adds my virtue to Thy Sovereignty,
And my past sins can do no harm to Thee,
 Forgive me then, O Father, I'm convinced
Thou'rt slow to seize and quick to set us free.

He addresses God and says, "O God, if I paid homage to Thee, did it in any way add to the improvement of Thy Sovereignty? And if I committed sins, did it in any way harm Thee? O God, forgive me and do not find fault with me, I am convinced Thou art slow to seize and ready to set us free.

من سلئ عاصیم رصائی تو کها است
تاریک دلم بور، صفائی تو کها است
سرا تو بیهست اگر، طاعت بیسی
آن بیع بود لطف و عطائی تو کها است

I'm a sinful slave, where is Thy grace divine?
My heart is dark, let Thy pure lustre shine!

If Heaven Thou givest as my virtue's wage
A barter 'tis, where is free-gift of Thine?

How like a poet he wishes to compel God to grant him forgiveness by saying, "O God! if Thou wilt grant me Heaven in consideration of my devotion it will be a mercantile transaction (which is the business of merchants and not that of Kings and Emperors), where is that grace and favour of Thine, of which we have been hearing long stories all along?" The same subject has been dealt with by Shaykh Sádi* in his "Gulistán," and it is considered to be one of the beauties of that book—

لدریوڑه گری آمدہ ام ده به تھارت

"I have come to beg and not for trade."

آدم که پدید گستم از قدرت، تو
صد سال مسلتم نیاز و نعمت، تو
صد سال ده امتحان گه خواهم کرد
تا درم من است نسیں یا رحمت، تو

I am, O Lord, as Thou createdst me,
Thy grace has saved me for a century,
A century more I'll live in sin to know
If sins of mine exceed God's clemency.

Just see, how he prays for forgiveness, he says, "Knowingly will I commit sins for years together, I want to ascertain whether my sins are greater than Thy mercy. I want to see which of the two is triumphant in the end."

فریاد که ہم رفتے ہو اکوڈہ
ہم لئے حرام ہم نفس آلوڈہ
فرمودہ ناکردا سبی دویم کرد
فریاد ز کردا ہی، نا فرمودہ

A famous Persian poet born at Shiráz in 1184 A.D. Spent years in travel and wrote innumerable works, both in prose and verse, the most celebrated of these is the "Gulistán" or the Rose Garden, which is a collection of short stories full of wise saws and philosophical reflections. He died in 1291 A.D. at the very advanced age of 107 years.

Alas ! in vain my life has run its race,
My deeds and thoughts are all devoid of grace,

 Oh that I did from what I should abstain,
 Thus doing wrong has blackened all my face.

He has explained duties as *things forbidden to be done*
(فُرموده ناکرده), and crimes as *forbidden things done*
(کردهای نافرموده),

It is well-known that on one occasion Khayyām's flask of
wine slipped from his hands and broke to pieces, upon which,
he wrote the following rūbā'i —

ای حق، می مرا شکستی رتا
لو من در چیز را نه بستی رتا
بر حاکمیتی می لعل، مرا
خاتم ندهن که سه مسی رتا

My flask Thou brok'st, my wine Thou didst outpour,
And closed on me my only pleasure's door,
 Dust in my mouth, O Lord, I must declare
Sure at that moment Thou wert sane no more.

They say that on account of this arrogance God pun-
ished him and his neck became crooked, upon which he said
a propos —

نا کرده گناه در جهان کپسید نگو
آن کس که گند نکرد چون دیست نگو
من ند کدم و تو بد مکافاھت دهی
پس فرق میان من و تو چیست نگو

What man on Earth has sinned not ? Tell me, pray,
How lives the man that sins not ? Tell me, pray.

 If Thou with ill requit'st my evil deeds
 Where lies the difference 'twixt us ? Tell me, pray.

That is to say, if I did an evil thing and Thou gavest me
an equally evil punishment, then where lies the difference bet-
ween Thee and me ?

Many poets have written on this subject of praying for divine forgiveness. Nizāmī says —

گناہ من ار نامدی در معمار
ترا نام کی بودی آمرزگار

*If I had not committed the sins,
How couldst Thou have been called the Forgiver?*

An Urdu poet says:—

عوص نہ لے مجدے جدم و گماہ بیهد کا
اللہی تھکو خیور الرحیم کھتی ہیں
کہوں، کہوں نہ مدد دیکھکو مسھے محتاج
ہ اُن کے بدلے ہمں حسکو کریم کھتی ہیں

Revenge not all my sins, for men believe
Thou art most kind, and willing to forgive,
Lest my poor plight some toe might thus decry—
“Look at this wretch who serves the Lord most High.”

But Khayyām's style and arguments are altogether different. He argues like a poet, and in cases of punishment he draws a parallel between the culprit and the master, and then instead of positively asserting his statements, he asks questions which are most effective and unanswerable

WIT AND HUMOUR

Khayyām, in spite of his being a philosopher, possessed a natural gift for wit and humour, therefore he has treated many subjects in a witty and humorous style. For example

ای چوح در گردش، بو خرسند نیم
اراد کند که لائق، بند نیم
گر میا، تو با بیخود و نااھل است
من دھر چنان اهل و خرد مند نیم

*Thy wheeling course displeases me, O Sky !
Free me, for I'm unfit for Tyranny !*

If thou to worthless fools alone art kind,
Be kind to me, a worthless fool am I.

It is a common belief of the Asiatics that the Skies do not give peace and comfort to wise men of the world. Khayyám addresses the heavens and says, "I am much oppressed by thy ways, O Sky, if thou hast regards only for fools and blockheads then know that I am not very wise or very intelligent.

در مسجد اگر بھر نیار آمدہ ام
بالام کہ نہ از بھر نیار آمدہ ام
یکروز ایمہ سماوئی نزدیدم
آن گم مشدہ اسٹھ ار ان نار آمدہ ام

Although to mosque I dutifully repair,
But, in the name of God, 'tis not for pray'r,
One day I stole a prayer-mat, that's lost,
And looking for one more, I still go there.

گویند کہ می محدود کہ معجان نہ رواست
اہ بھر رحبا کہ آن می خاص، خداست
معجان و رحبا می خداید و رسول
ما می رمضان خودم کان خاص: است

In Shabán I am asked to drink no wine,
Nor in Rajab which is a month divine,
If God and Rasool claim these two as theirs,
In Ramáén will I drink, that's surely mine.*

In Persia almost all the months of the year have got special names, for example, Shabán is called the month of Rasool, and Rajab the month of God.

Khayyám says that people forbid wine-drinking during these months, as they are the months of God and His Prophet,

* Rajab the 7th, Shabán the 8th and Ramáén the 9th month of the Mohammedan year. Ramáén is the month during which Muslims observe a rigorous fast every day from Sun rise to Sun set

and certainly this advice is true, and for that reason, I drink wine during Ramzán, as that is our own month.

گویند که آن کسان که ناپرہیزاند
ران سال که نہ پرند بوان سان خیزند
ما نامے و معموی اد ایم مقام
تابو که نصو آن چنان انگیرند

They say, that as a pious person dies
So he again on Final Day shall rise,
That's why with Wine and Love I like to stay
That I may wake up from my grave likewise.

It is well known¹ that a man will rise, on the day of the Resurrection, in the same condition in which he dies. Khayyám says that this is the reason why I pass my days and nights with Wine and the Beloved, so that I may wake up on the Last Day in the same state.

گویند که ماه دروده برد یک رسید
من بعد بگرد ناده نوان گردید
در آخر شعبان اهورم خدوان می
کاند رمحان میست نسیم تا خیرد

The Moon of Fasting-month² is seen they say,
And I, from wine my hand must keep away,
Next Shabán's³ end I'll drink such floods of wine
That rise I not before Id's⁴ festive day.

In Persia all the wine-bibbers abstain from drinking wine in the month of Ramzán, Khayyám says that he will drink so much of it, at the end of Shabán, that he may remain intoxicated till the Id Qámi⁵ has made this subject natural:

1. That is to say, it is a well known belief of the people.

2. i. e. Ramzán 3. The month preceding Ramzán. 4. The New Year's day which falls on the first of Shává

5. A little known poet of Il Kham period (1265—1367 A. D.)

می خوردن، این ماه روابست و لیکن
مسنایه توان خورد نه هشیب یکدو سه ساعتو
یا خورد براں گونه نماید که ر مسنی،
تا مشام، دگر نرنوان خاست د هم

In Ramzán wine's forbid, and still, one might
Drink one, or two, or three cups in the night,
And in his bed, dead drunk, in sleep remain—
Till day fleets by and night comes on again

But, another poet has adopted the finest style, in an
ode whose rhyming words are „نی داسیم“ he says—

قرب یک ماه نه میهار امامت کردم
از خاکا رمсан ود نی داسیم

Once, for a month in Tavern I did bide,
And did not know when 'twas the Ramzán tide.

هرگ که طلوع صبح ارزو نامند
باید که بکف حام مرقی نامند
گویند ن افواه ک می تلخ بود
نماید که ببر حال ک می حق نامند

When Dawn's blue rays with parting Night entwine,
Let your hand grasp a cup of sparkling wine;

Its taste, like truth, is bitter in the mouth,
Hence, we may call it "Truth"—this juice of vine.

There is a saying in Arabic "الحق مُرّ" "Truth is bitter," Khayyám says that the taste of wine is also bitter, and therefore, it seems that wine is truth. Mirzá Ghálíb* has expressed the same idea in a different way—

* A world famous Muslim poet of the nineteenth century. A man of scientific vision, who, like Úmar Khayyám, used to drown his sorrows in the cup of wine. The late Shums ül Úlemá Mauláná Altáf Hüseín Háli's "Yādgár i Ghálíb" is a very informative work on the life and poems of Mirzá Ghálíb. An edition of Ghálíb's *duān* or collection of poems is also published by the Kawám Press of Berlin, Germany.

لکفتش که نه تلخی سار و پند پنديو
بوروک باده ما تلختو ارين پند اسست

Don't you advise to hear and bear a bitter truth ?

Away, my wine's more bitter than this truth, forsooth.

That is to say, do you not instruct us that man should endure bitter things and listen to admonitions ? If that is so then our wine is bitterer than your advice, why do we require other bitter things ?

دستست، حومه که حام و ساغر گیورد
حمسه که آن لذت و مسمو گیورد
تو راهد خسکی و مسمم داسنی تو
آنس دستیهده که در تو گبورد

Alas ! it hands like mine the Cup forsook,
And leaning on the Pulpit grasped the Book ,
Thou art a bigot dry, I'm wet with wine,
Heard'st thou a wet thing fire ever took ?

من در رمضان روزه اگر میخوردم
تا طن ببری که بی حمر میخوردم
ار مهمنت روزه روزه من چون منب مشد
پند استم روزه که سهر میخوردم

If I did eat in holy Ramân's spite,
It was not due to ignorance outright ,

Methought it was the proper break-fast time
For, tasting toils had turned my days to night

طعم نه نماد و روزه حون مائل هند
گفتم که مراد، کایم حاصل هند
اسومن که آن وصوبه نادی بستکست
وان روزه نه نیم چرخه می باطل هند

Methought, when I inclined to pray and fast,
My heart's desire was attained at last,

Alas ! a breath of wind, a drop of wine,
Spoiled my ablution and annulled my fast.

Besides humour this rûbâi contains a hint at the hollowness of the adoration of those people who say their prayers and observe fasts only for show.

گویند که فردوس نوبن خواهد نوید
آنها میزاب و خود عین خواهد نوید
گرما میز و معشوق گردیدم هر ناک
خون حاتم کار هنین خواهد نوید

“ In Paradise are Hûris* sweet and fair,
And wine to drink in plenty,” men declare ;

Then if I choose them here on Earth, why fear ?
Since, such will be the end of the affair.

As regards those people, who are convinced that there will be the enjoyment of corporeal pleasures in Heaven, and that they will get wine and Hûris, Khayyâm humorously tries to give the go-by to their belief by asking them, “ If all this is going to happen hereafter, what is the harm if I adopt those things in this life ? ”

زاهد گوید بهشت با خود خوش است
من میگویم شراب انگور خوش است
این نقد بگیر و دست اراد نسبه ددار
اوایز دهل مشجعین از دور خوش است

“ Sweet are the maid-servants of Heaven,” Zealots say,
But, sweeter far this juice of grapes to-day ;
Come, take this cash and let that credit go,
The din of drums is sweet when far away.

مارا گویند دورخی نامند مسنه
قولی است خلاف دل درو نتوان سست
گر عامق و مسنه دورخی خواهد نوید
فردا یعنی بهشت را چون کف دست

* Beautiful damsels.

"Hell is the drunkards' lot," they say to me,
A saying 'tis with which I can't agree,
If Hell exists for all who love and drink
Then, empty as my palm Heaven will be.

That is, if it be true that the lover and the drunkard
cannot get to Heaven, then take it for granted, that Heaven
will be lying empty like a flat plain, meaning that love and
ecstasy are the necessities of human nature Who is without
them?

گویند دهست و حور و کوئر باشد
حور مس و مشهد و مشهد و سکر باشد
یک حام نده در ناده ام اه ساقی
لندی در هردار نسیم نهاده باشد

There's Heaven, Hûis, Kausar's Faunt*, they say,
Where Streams of Wine, and Milk and Honey play
Give me a cup, O Sîqi, better far
Than thousand hopes is present joy to-day.

ار هرمه خودد مرد مشواب او لیانو
نا سرخطان باده ناب او لیانو
عالیم هم سویس و ناطس خراب
در حائی خراب هم خراب او لیانو

'Tis well, with all the cup of wine to drain,
Better, with her who holds my heart in chain,
And since this world is good for naught, my friend,
'Tis best, that we from wine do not refrain.

مایعم خریدار منی کهنه و او
وانگاه فروشنده عالم به دو حو
کفنه که پس از مرگ کها خواهم رفت
من پیش من آر و هر کها خواهی درو

* The chief stream in the Mohammedan Paradise whence all other streams flow, whose water is supposed to be sweeter than honey and whiter than milk.

We purchase wine though old or new it be,
And for two grains our worldly goods sell we,¹

Thou askest where thou'l go to after death?
Bring wine and go wherever it pleases thee.

آن ناده حوشگوار در دستنم ده
آن ساغر حون دگار بر دستنم ده
آن مه که حور لجه ده بجهد نه حود
دیوانه مقدم دهار در دستنم نه

Give me, O Sáqi, thy delicious wine,
Hand me the Cup so lovely and so fine,

Pour me the liquor that's like unto a chain,
For, I am mad, with chains my hands entwine!

د لاؤ مسالم د در حولد گنست
ایرد دايد, گل صرا اد ه سرمنت
نم دین و دینا و ده آمد دیخت
حون کافر درویسم و حون قهقهه رشت

Unfit for Mosque, unfit for Convent-cell,
What stuff am made of, God alone can tell,

Like a godless dervish² or a woman leud,
No hopes of Heav'n have I, no fears of Hell.

One cannot find a better example than this of excluding oneself from the world and religion. The infidel beggar and the ugly harlot being excluded from both the world and religion.

ADMONITION ON THE INSTABILITY OF THE WORLD

To warn mankind against the instability of the world is one of the chief objects of all the great poets, Sádi³, Háfiz⁴,

1 The meaning is that wine drinkers do not care either for this world or the next.

2 A mendicant

3. See note on page 68

4. A famous Persian poet who died in 1391 A.D. He is called the Anacreon of Persia on account of his lyrical odes written in praise of wine and beauty. The Moslems look upon him as a great Súfi.

Ibn-i-Yamín, Násir Khusraw¹, and Sahábi² have all dealt with it. But the real beginning was made by Khayyám, and he developed it to such an extent that Sádi and Háfiz, great poets as they were, only seemed to follow his teaching. This subject, besides teaching us a lesson, also enables us to estimate Khayyám's poetic talents. He has treated this subject hundreds of times, but by the power of his imagination he so transforms it, that every time it touches our hearts as a novelty.

خاکی که نرید، رانی هر حیوانی است
رلف، صنمی و عارض، حیانی است
هر چیز که بر کنگره ایوانی است
انگیز، ورید و سر، سلطانی است

There lies in dust beneath each creature's tread,
The locks and cheeks of beauties gone and dead,
And in each brick that forms the palace-wall,
A Vizier's finger or a Sultán's head.

Shaykh³ Sádi has written fictitious stories to illustrate this theme. For example, he says —

شنبلدم که یک نار در دهان
ستن گفت نا عالیه کیا
که من و-، ورماندیه دامشتم
و سو بر کله، مهی دامشتم

1. A great traveller and a voluminous poet. The other poets mentioned by Shibli are not so famous to day as Sádi or Háfiz or 'Umar Khayyám.

2. It is interesting to note that Ma'lúná Shibli, in one of his letters written to the famous Urdu author Mí Mí Mehdi Hasan Sáheb, refers to the Rúbiyát of SAHABI in the following terms —

"EUROPE HAS ESTEEMED KHAYYAM, BUT IT WOULD HAVE OPENED THEIR EYES STILL MORE IF THEY HAD BEEN ACQUAINTED WITH SAHABI ASTRABADI WHOSE TEN THOUSAND PHILOSOPHICAL RUBAIYAT ARE EXISTANT I HAVE GOT ABOUT A HUNDRED OF THESE QUATRAINS YOU WILL HEAR THEM ONE OF THESE DAYS"
(See "Makátabi-i-Shibli" Vol II, p 200. Letter 12.)

3. شیخ is a title of honour. It was conferred upon Sádi by the people on account of his age, genius and piety.

I've heard that on the Tigris' bank, one day,
A skull addressed a Hermit in this way

"Once, on my head I wore a royal crown,
Mine was a ruler's glory and renown."

Again, in another verse he has expressed it in a very touching style —

ددم نیسی یک دورِ رُزِلِ خاک
نگوشن آمدم را مه درد را ک
که رنهاد اگر مردی آهسته تو
که حسم و ساگوش و روی است و سو

Once with my axe I struck a piece of ground,
And to my ears came forth this painful sound,
"If man thou beest, be more kind, take care—
Man's eyes, and ears, and face, and head are there."

i. e. One day I hit my shovel on a heap of earth, and this painful voice fell upon my ears—"Do it a little more gently, Sir, there are eyes, ears and heads hidden here, take care you do not hurt them!" But all these ornamentalations of Sádi are but the imitations of Khayyám's picture book. Compare the following —

لی کوره دهه ایدیدم اندر ناراد
بر تاره کله لکه همی دد بسیار
وان گل بربان، حال نا او می گمی
من همچو تو اوده ام مرا نیکو دار

In market-place a potter, yesterday,
Such blows bestowed upon a lump of clay,

Methought, the wet clay cried in mystic tongue—
"I was like thee, be kind to me, I pray."

Now in Sádi's verses, though enumeration of the different parts of the body and the request to be gentle have produced a peculiar effect, yet the request for mercy is more prominent in Khayyám when he makes the clay declare

"I was once like you, therefore, behave kindly towards me"
He has treated this subject in a still more effective style—

بیهیں ار من و تو لیل و لیهاری بودست
گردنده ملک بوای کاری بودست
دیهار قدم دھاں آہسته نہ
کین مردمک حرم، لگارے بوده است

There have been Days and Nights before we came,
And skies have rolled for ages all the same,
Take care and gently tread upon the dust
'Twas once the eye-ball of a pretty dame.
Look at a few more aspects of this subject—

ایں کُھے رناظوا کے عالم نام است
آرامگر انلئ صبح و میام است
دومے است کے وامنڈھ صد حسیند است
قصڑے است کے تکھ گاہ صد بھوام است

This world is but an ancient inn, I say,
Where Days and Nights alternate hold their sway,
A hundred Jamshids¹ gathered on its ground,
A hundred Behrāms² in its bosom lay.

خوش راں کے خستہ بیکران خواهد بود
دو خرچ قران اخترار خواهد بود
خشے کے ر قالب بو خواهد ردن
ابوان و سران دیکران خواهد بود

1 Jamshid was the fourth monarch of the Peshdādian Dynasty of Persia, he possessed a cup known as the "Jehān nūmāi Jām-i-Jamshid" or the world showing cup of Jamshid, which reflected Past, Present and Future at the will of its owner

2 Behram the Gūr, a great king of the Sāsānian Dynasty. He was very fond of hunting the wild ass and was drowned in a morass whilst pursuing that animal. Khayyām refers to him in one of his quatrains (No 210 of the Luck Ed) as follows—

بهرام کے گود می گرفتے ہم خمر لسکر کے چکونہ گود بھوام گرفتے
1 e Behrām, who all his life caught the Gūr (the wild ass), see now, how the Gūr (the grave) has caught Behram'

Be glad, in endless sorrow thou shalt lie
When evil comets¹ overcrowd the sky :—

Thy clay they'll fashion into bricks and rear
Another's house or caravanserāi.

اے کوڑہ گر آپ دوں اگر ھسپاڑی

تا ہند کسی ہو، گل آدم خواری

انگشٹ، مریدون و کف، کیھسرو

لو حرج نہادہ جہ می پنڈاری

Drink wine, O Potter, be thou wise to-day,
How long wilt thou abuse poor human clay?

King F'ridūn's² finger, Khūsro's³ palm, I see
Placed on thy wheel, what meanest thou, I pray?

i.e. O Potter, dost thou know anything as to what thou
hast placed upon thy wheel? Farīdūn's finger and Kāikhūsro's
palm⁴

حامی اسست کہ حقل آفون مجرندهش

صد دوس د مھر ہو دسمن مجرندهش

دین کوڑہ گر، دھر جمن حام، لطیف

می سارد و نار ہو دسمن مجرندهش

There is a Cup¹ so rare, so full of grace,
A hundred times one longs to kiss its face,

The original word is "conjunction of stars" which is considered an ill omen. Khayyam says that before the conjunction of stars in the sky portent your death and make you miserable, enjoy yourself in the present. Remember, that once you are dead and buried, you will be dust unto dust, and your dust will be utilized in the manufacture of bricks, wherewith people will build palaces and rest houses for others.

2 Farīdūn, a very just and liberal prince of the Peshdadian Dynasty of Persia, who had overpowered Zohāk, the tyrant. When at the zenith of his fame he is said to have divided his kingdom between his three sons and devoted himself to the service of God.

3 Kāikhūsro, a king of the Kyānian Dynasty of Persia.

4. The human head, the shape of which resembles an inverted bowl. The poet questions, "Why does God destroy such a rare and lovely cup that He has created and which is a master piece of His workmanship?" In other words, Why does God destroy what He creates? Why should He annihilate man?

And yet, the Potter of the World, unmakes
This master-piece of His, and leaves no trace

دو سندگ ردم دوش سموی کامشی¹
سر خوش اودم که کردم این اونامشی
نامن دریان، حال می گفت سُجو
من حون تو ندم نویز حون من باشی

Against a stone, I dashed my bowl last night,
Bad was the act, but I was glad outright;
To me the bowl in bowl's own language cried
"I was like thee, and thine shall be my plight."²

این کوره حون من حامشی، داره بوده است
واندر طلب، رو، نگاره بوده است
این دست که بو گردن، او می نهی
لستی اسب که در گردن، یاری بوده است

Like me a lover was this jug of wine,
And for to see his loved one's face did pine
The curving handle that thou see'st once did
Around a fair one's slenderness entwine.

WINE

Just as in Arabia, Abû Nûwâs³ was a lover of wine, so in Persia, Khayyám was a much oppressed devotee of the round-going cup. The tumult, the insolence, the rapture and the boundless zeal with which he speaks of wine, clearly

1. "A bowl made in the city of Kashî (India)" SHIBLI

2. "I was a human being like you and time will come when you will be an earthen pot like me" Cf the epitaph

"Stranger, pause as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now so you must be
Prepare for death and follow me"

3. Abû Nûwâs, author of The Thousand and One Nights, was the court-jester of Hârûn ar Rashid, the most renowned of the Abbasid Caliphs. The lyrical poems of Abu Nuwas are written in praise of wine and beauty. He died in 810 A.D.

prove that he did certainly drink wine and drank it openly.¹ It is a pity that he was a learned man and a philosopher, and not a Sūfi,² otherwise, his wine, like that of Hāfiẓ, would be considered *the Wine of Divine Knowledge*.³

Nearly half the number of his quatrains deals with wine. Many of the thoughts and ideas that he has expressed regarding wine are borrowed by Khwāja Hāfiẓ and rendered more playfully. But Khwāja Hāfiẓ has not yet attained that height of ecstasy and selflessness which is to be found in Khayyām's writings.

مَنْ لَمْ يَمْسِ دَابَ بِرِبْسَنْ دَوَازِمْ
لَمْ حَامِ كَسْبَدَهْ نَارَقَنْ دَوَادِمْ
مِنْ بَنَدَهْ آنَ دَمَمْ كَهْ سَاقِيْ گَوَيْدَ
لَكَ حَامِ دَگَرْ دَكَّهْ وَ مِنْ دَوَادِمْ

Without pure wine I cannot live a day,
Without a cup my body's strength gives way,
I am that moment's slave when Sāqī⁴ cries,
"Have one more cup," and I cannot obey.

1. Mī Mīr Wahī (II, 1 A, 11 B) the learned author of "Kās ül-Kirām" does not fall in with this opinion of Maulānā Shibli. He argues that there are no historical proofs to support this opinion, and if only the tumult and insolence with which Khayyām speaks of wine is taken as a sufficient proof of wine drinking, then there is hardly a poet, from the days of Rūdakī down to the present generation, who might not be called a drunkard, because every one of them has sung of wine. See "Kās ül-Kirām" pp. 48-49.

2. A *sufi* is a mystic, who believes in the unity and omnipresence of God, and who has, for His sake, relinquished the world. Sūfis are, generally, latitudinarians and do not care for forms and creeds of faith. They love God for God's sake, and are unmindful of the threats of Hell and hopes of Heaven. They talk of the Tavern, the Sāqī, the Wine and the Beloved, but their language is allegorical, they are absorbed in Divine contemplation, their Tavern is a place of worship, their Sāqī is the wise man who guides them, their Wine is Divine Knowledge and their Beloved is God Himself.

3. Literally, معرفت, *Mārifat*.

4. The cup-bearer who serves wine in the taverns.

ما یئم خریدرا ہے کُھن و دو
و انگاہ فروشنڈہ حالم دلو حو
کفتی کہ پس ار مرگ کھا خواہم دست
ہے پس من آر و هر کھا خواہی دو

We purchase wine though old or new it be,
And for two grains our worldly goods sell we,
Thou askest where thou'l go to after death?
Bring wine and go wherever it pleases thee.

Look at the audacity and carelessness, a man absorbed in religious contemplation of the Final Day, approaches Khayyám and most anxiously inquires as to where he shall have to go after Death. How frankly does he reply?—"Sir, bring wine, place it before me, and go where you like, I don't care."

Notwithstanding all this, it appears by further study and investigation that though Khayyám was addicted to drinking wine, it was not as a libertine, but rather as a philosopher. But even that is forbidden and unlawful according to the Mohammedan Law. Khayyám declares that in drinking wine one must observe certain conditions. Who should drink wine? How much should he drink? In what company should he drink? If you observe these conditions, you will be convinced that none can drink wine except a wise man, for the reason that only the wise can observe these conditions.

مے گرچہ حرام اسے ولے تا کہ خورد?
انگاہ ہے مددار؟ و دگر نا کہ خورد?
ہوگاہ کہ این چھار شرط آبید دمع
پس مے انہوں مردم دانا کہ خورد

Wine is forbid, but who are you? take care,
How much of it you drink? with whom and where?
When these four points are well observed, then,
None but the very wise the cup may share.

Then he clearly tells us how to drink—

کم کم حور، و گز کم حور، و تهنا می حور

Drink little by little, and now and then, and when you are alone.

حون ہسپا رم طرب ر من پنهان است
حون مسنت شوم در خردم نقصان است
حالے است میان، مسنتی و ہسپاری
من سدۂ آن که دندگانی آن است

Sobriety with no delight is fraught,
And getting drunk obstructs the flow of thought,
'Twixt drunk and sober there's a middle state,
Its slave am I, it is my life, my lot

That is to say, neither that state of drunkenness is approvable when a man is dead drunk, nor that when it produces absolutely no effect. There is a state midway between drunkenness and sobriety, and I am its slave.

حون باده حوری ر حقل بگار، مسو
مدھوش میانش و حچل را خار مسو
خواهی که می، لعل حلالت نامند
اراد کسے مھو و دواه مسو

If you drink wine, drink like a man of sense,
Do not get drunk, and sink in ignorance,
If you should have Red Wine allowed to you
Do not be mad and give no man offence.

گر باده نمی حورم سان، خامی است
ور نیر مدام میحورم دندانی است
می مناہ و حکیم و رید ناید که حورد
ور دین س نمھور که دمنم کامی است

If wine I drink not, surely it's a blame,
And if I drink it e'er, it spoils good name,

A king, a sage, a libertine can drink,
Drink not at all, if this you cannot claim.

There is no doubt about it that wine-drinking, even in moderation, is unlawful under all circumstances, and any person who preaches its lawfulness, commits a great sin. But suppose that two persons come up before you. One of them is good-natured, sincere, truthful and honest, but he drinks wine. The other does not drink wine, he says his prayers and observes his fasts too, but he is busy all the while with slander, backbiting and crimes, he misappropriates the funds of the charitable endowments, and moulds the religious injunctions to suit his own desires. Which of these two would you prefer? Just think over it. Some people who do not drink wine often fearlessly commit crimes that are worse than wine-drinking. Khayyām addresses such people and says—

تو مھر ھی کسی کے میں می نہ ہو دی
صد کار کسی کے میں علام است اورا

Thou boastest thou dost not drink wine. Thou doest a hundred things in comparison with which wine-drinking is nothing.

Khwāja Hāfiẓ has dealt with this problem very eloquently

وہ مدرسہ دی میست دو د و مسوے داد
کو میں حرام ولے نہ د مال اوقاف است

The College-tutor drank his fill,
And to this truth gave vent,—
Wine, though forbid, is better still,
Than funds in trust misspent.

PHILOSOPHY

What is *Philosophy*? “It is the correct understanding of the origin of things” When we look at all those things that surround us, we naturally ask ourselves what these things

* See “Rubāiyāt i Ūmar i Khayyām” Luck Eṭ Rūb No 2.

are. How have they come into existence? What has caused them to appear? Are they single or compound? What is their nature? What are their properties and peculiarities? Later on, we see things coming into existence, either simultaneously or one after the other, and the question arises whether there is any special relation between them or are they joined together by accident? If they are related, what sort of a relation is it? How is it there and why? In short, all the questions of this kind constitute the pith and kernel of Philosophy, and it is the duty of philosophers to answer them. But of all these questions, the one of greatest importance is this: Can we know the origin of things? Philosophers have generally answered it in the affirmative, but there have been such philosophers also, and there are such even now, whose opinion is that we cannot know the origin of anything. Herbert Spencer² has divided things into two classes (1) those things that are beyond human understanding and are excluded from man's circle of knowledge, (2) those things that are under the control of his knowledge. He has written a special essay on the first kind and proved that we should not endeavour to investigate them. The German philosopher Schopenhauer³ has always maintained that we cannot find out the origin of anything. Khayyám holds the same belief. Just think for a moment and think a little deeply. What do we know of those things regarding which we have confidence that we know them? Let us take, for example, "matter" which is what we can see and feel, and let us con-

حَقَائِقِ اِشْيَا كَا [دِرَاك]

2 A famous English philosopher and systematiser of scientific knowledge in the nineteenth century. He says in one of his works as follows, "What a thing is in itself cannot be known, because to know it one must strip it of all that it becomes, of all that has come to adhere to it." Also see "Progress its Law and Cause" The Rationalist Press Association's Cheap Reprints No 20, p 33

3 A metaphysical thinker of very bold views. He was not satisfied with life, and some of his ideas are highly pessimistic. He died in 1860 A.D.

sider how far do we know it. We know certain properties of "matter." We know that it reduces itself to particles so minute that they can no longer be divided, and they are called the Democritian particles¹ These particles possess motion, weight, cohesion, gravity and certain other qualities, but these are merely the properties or peculiarities of the particles, we do not know at all their origin, or how they come into existence and from where. Let us explain it a little more clearly. Let us take an apple in our hands. We think that we know it. We know it certainly, but how far? We know that it has a certain shape, flavour, colour and taste, but shape, flavour, colour and taste are merely its qualities, and in the language of ancient philosophers they are called the "*extension*." None of these qualities is distinct and permanent by itself, the apple appears distinct and permanent only on account of these qualities being observed together, and therefore, we could know nothing of the origin of the apple.

The theory of cause and effect, which we apply to the study of things, turns out to be the more unreliable the more we investigate, and finally we cannot find out the original cause of anything. It is a fact that anything coming from above falls to the ground. According to the investigations of the Greek philosophers the cause of this was that the Earth was the centre of all things and so everything was drawn towards the centre; but Newton² proved the fallacy of this, and pointed out that there was gravity in all bodies, and the Earth, being a large body, draws all smaller bodies

¹ *the atoms* Democritus was a Greek philosopher, born in 460 B C He is called the Laughing Philosopher on account of his habit of laughing at the follies of mankind He is the father of the Atomic Theory, as he traced the universe to its ultimate particles and referred all life and sensation to movements in them

² Sir Isaac Newton, a famous English philosopher, author of the "Principia," a Latin work on the mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy (1642—1727 A D.)

towards itself. Just think how the original problem was left unsolved ! In this manner it was known beyond any doubt that falling of things was due to the force of gravity. But what is the cause of this gravity or why is there any gravity at all ? This problem still remains unsolved. In short we can know things to a certain extent, but later on we find that our ignorance gets the better of our knowledge , and before we have unriddled one secret, another secret comes on the surface , before we have unloosened one knot, many more knots tie themselves up for solution

فلسفی سوّ حلمهات نتوانست کسند
گستاخ دار، دگرآن دار که افسا می کرد¹

Truth's mystery no sage could ever trace,
One secret solved, another takes its place.

Regarding this matter many keen-sighted philosophers have confessed that they know nothing. Socrates,² after life-long investigations, said, " It became known to me that I knew nothing." Khayyām belongs to the same creed. He has expressed this opinion very clearly and very familiarly—

کس مشکل، اسرار، ملک را نکشاد
کس یک قدم از نهاد بیرون نه نهاد
عون نیگوم از مبنی تا آسناد
عراست بدست، هرکه از مادر داد

Nature's secret knot none has undone,
A step beyond his bound has travelled none,

From tyro to the teacher I survey
And helpless find I every mother's son.

1 Shibli.

2 The greatest of Athenian philosophers, a friend of truth and justice and an arch-enemy of quacks and hypocrites He had made it his business to preach to his people and instil into them a love of truth and justice He was unjustly condemned to die on a charge of disbelieving the State Religion. (469 499 B. C.)

آنها که محیط فضل و آداب مهندند
در کشف دقیقه شمع، اصحاب مهندند
رده دین مشب، تاریک نمودند بیرون
گنجند فساد و در خواب مهندند

Those who possessed great virtues, talents bright,
Whose learning was their fellows' guiding light,
Even they beyond Night's darkness could not step,
They told their tales and bade a long good-night.

آنها که حهان دیر، قدم مرسودند
وادر طلس هر دو حهان پیمودند
آگاه نمی شوم که ایشان هرگز
دین حال چنان که هست آگه بودند

Those who did tread the Earth from end to end,
And in His search did measure sea and land,
I never heard that they for all their pains,
The real truth could ever comprehend.

جمعی منتظر لد در مذهب و دین
جمعی متعجبند در شگ و یقین
نگاه منادی در آید ذ کمیون
کاخ بیهودان راه د آنسه د این

Some men with care their creeds and faith survey,
Some stand 'twixt doubt and certitude half-way,
When suddenly from ambush comes a voice,
"O fools! nor here nor there doth lie your way."

افسوس که سرمایه ذ کف بیرون مهد
در دست، احل بسی چگرها خون مهد
کس نامد ار ان جهان که تا پرسم ازو
کا حوال، مسافران، حالم حون مهد

Alas! the stock of Life soon runs away
And Death wounds many a precious heart each day,

From yonder world no traveller returns
That I may ask. "How fare you there, I pray?"

هر چند که رنگ و بوی ریناست مرا
چون لاله زخم و هو سرو نالاست مرا
معلوم نسند که در طرب خانه خاک
لیقاش، من اد نهور هم آراست مرا

The Sculptor¹ gives me colour, form and grace,
A cypress-body and a tulip-face—

But I know not why does He deck me so
In this unworthy, transient pleasure-place!²

کس را پس، پرده قصا راه نه مشد
ور سر، خدا هیچ کس آگاه نه مشد
هر کس ز قیام، خویش حیرت گفتمند
معلوم نه گست و قصه کوتاه نه مسد

No man past Destiny's veil could ever go,
Almighty's hidden secrets none could know,
Some guessed and pondered for a while, but still
The tale remains unended here below.

دل شر، حماست را کماهی دانست
در موت هم اسرار، الهی دانست
امور که با خودی نه دادستی همچ
فردا که ز خود روی هم خواهی دانست

If now your heart can know life's secret lore,
Then after Death, it might perchance know more,
But, if you know naught being with yourself
What will you know when you are you no more ?

You will be led to think that if ignorance is Khayyām's philosophy, then all the ignorant are philosophers; but this is not correct. People asked Socrates that when he did not know anything and they also did not know anything, then

1. God 2. This world.

where was the difference between him and them? "The difference lies only in this," replied he, "that I know that I do not know, and you do not know even that much."

Knowledge is generally of two kinds rational and blind. The Earth, the Sun, the Moon, all these things are known to an illiterate man, but his knowledge of them is not scientific. A peasant knows that two dissimilar kinds of grains cannot grow at the same time in one ground A student of Botany also knows this fact, but there is much difference between their knowledge The same fact holds good as regards ignorance. A philosopher knows that he cannot comprehend the secrets of God, an ignorant person also acknowledges this fact, but there is a vast distinction between them. Khayyām is proud of his ignorance and says that every person cannot attain to its height.

تو نے خمری اے خمری کار، تو نہ سست

ہر نے خمری را نرسد اے خمری¹

*Thou art ignorant, ignorance is not for thee,
Every ignorant person cannot acquire ignorance.*

A certain poet has expressed it poetically—

تا نھاۓ رسنداہ دا سس، من

کہ بدایم ھے کہ نادایم²

*So competent in learning am I grown,
That my incompetence I've learned to own.*

In other words, my knowledge has attained such a height that I know I understand nothing. On another occasion Khayyām says—

وندی دیدم نسسته دو سنگ، (میں)

نم کفر نہ اسلام نہ دیبا و نہ دین

1. See Rubāi No 727 Luck Ed Also cf. Versions of Nicolas (No. 432), Whinfield (No. 467), John Payne (No 779).

2 This is a quotation from Abū Shakūr Balkhi See "Sher ʻul-Ajam" Vol. I, p 52

لے حق نہ حقيقة نہ شریعت نہ یقین
اندر دو جهان کرا دو رہرگ این

I found a toper in a lonely place,
Sans Atheism, sans Faith, sans Wealth, sans Grace,
Sans God, sans Truth, sans Law, sans Certainty,
A man so bold as this where can you trace?*

We have nothing to do with the truth or otherwise of the philosophy of ignorance, only look at the effect it has on us.

The Philosophy of Ignorance is the very fountain-head of all sorts of investigations, disclosures and fresh knowledge; if we are once convinced that we know everything, or that our knowledge of a thing is complete in itself, then what does there remain for scientific research? How shall we investigate up to the end? How shall we exert ourselves to new efforts? The Philosophy of Ignorance is the lamp that lights our way, it helps us to step forward; the more we know the less we acknowledge it and keep on advancing. Khayyām teaches us the philosophy that tells us of our ignorance, and at the same time inspires us to acquire knowledge.

گر ار پے مشھوڑ و ہوا خواہی رفت
اڑ من حمرت کے دوا خواہی رفت
سکر چے کسی؟ و ار کھا آمدگ؟
می دان کر چو می کسی؟ کھا خواہی رفت

If Greed and Passion's wicked ways you trace,
Beware, you'll die a beggar in disgrace.

Consider what you are, from where you come,
What here you do, and where's your future place?

Who are you? Whence have you come? What are you doing? Where will you go? These are the questions that

* In this quatrain Khayyām means to say that when a man drinks, deeply at the fountain of knowledge, he begins to understand the hollowness of all worldly things, and does not care for creeds and conventions.

Khayyām instructs us to investigate. What proposition, better than this, can there be for philosophy to discuss? One more problem is worthy of careful consideration. Look at the innumerable religious sects among the Mohammedans. What are the points on which they differ?—Is God the intentional Creator of the world or only a Discoverer? Are the attributes of God original or acquired? Are they from all eternity or only recent? Is the word of God figurative or literal?—These problems are far above human understanding. When we do not know the origin of God, how can we know what His attributes are? In spite of this, each sect fully believes that whatever it knows is final, so much so, that any person who contradicts them is looked upon as an erring, ignorant, stupid, accursed and faithless apostate! The Mūtazilī, Qadariyyā, Ashariyyā, Hanbili, Shī'a and the Sūnnī¹ call one another infidels, and from words, they often come to blows, and the lanes and streets of Baghda'd appear red, as it were, with the blood of Mohammedans.

If these holy men had acted upon Khayyām's philosophy, that is to say, if they had acknowledged that these problems were incomprehensible, if they had looked upon their knowledge as *ignorance*, if they had thought it their duty to create a perfect religious harmony by telling people that God did exist, that He knew all, saw all, heard all, spoke all, but that the law-givers had not explained the delicate points about God's origin and attributes, then there would have been no disputes, fights or battles among the Muslim sects during the last twelve hundred years. Hāfiẓ-i-Shirāz² has well said—

یکی از کفر می لافد دگر طامات می نافد
بیا کاین داوریها را نه بیش، داور الاداریم

1. These are only a few of the seventy three different sects among the Muslims.

2. Literally, "The angel of Shirāz," i. e. Khwāja Hāfiẓ, the poet, who is looked upon as a pious mystic.

One calls the other heretic and fool,
 The other tries to make the one his tool;
 Come, we will leave them to the Lord, and see
 Who has a juster claim to sanctity.

FATALISM

Fatalism, that is, the belief that man acts under the compulsion of Fate, is a very delicate problem and apparently it seems to be fallacious, but there is no getting away from it. Free-thinkers argue that man has control over his desires, and therefore, he is independent. But thinking more deeply over it we find that man's desire also is beyond his control. When all the necessary circumstances go together, the desire to do a certain thing arises spontaneously, and it is not in the power of man to stop it or desire otherwise.

It is rather strange, that those who do not believe in Fatalism and call the Fatalists infidels, are themselves Fatalists at heart, but do not openly acknowledge it. Poets have no faith in Fatalism; they rather assert that man has control over his actions, but at the same time declare that this control is ineffective. Then where is the advantage of having such a control? Concerning this it is written in "Mûsallam-ûs-Shûbût,"¹ that the art of poets and doctrine of the Fatalists are twin brothers. Anyhow I do not want to settle this controversy. Whether the doctrine of Fatalists be true or false, one thing is certain that Khayyâm was a firm believer in Fatalism.²

1 "Mûsallam ûs-Shûbût" is a collection of facts. Some work that Maulânâ Shibli had noticed, but I could not obtain any information about it.

2 European students of Khayyâm, who look upon him as a free thinker, may find it hard to agree with Maulânâ Shibli's opinion. Of course, the Rûbâiyat quoted here go to prove that Khayyâm did believe in Fatalism, but some other of his quatrains directly contradict this assertion. We have to remember that all the quatrains were not written at the same time. They were written by the poet at different periods of his life, under different circumstances and environments.

ايرد هو نخواست آنجه من خواسته ام
 که گردد راسته آنجه من خواسته ام
 گر هست صواب آنجه او خواسته است
 پس حمله خطاست آنجه من خواسته ام

Since God desires not as I have willed,
 How can my wishes ever be fulfilled?

If what He wills is only just and true
 Then error 'tis whatever I have willed.

لشته است که تو وجود، ما دیه
 صد بوعهی دما بر انگیخته
 من ران نه ارلن نمی توائم بودن
 کز بونه چمن مرا فرو دیخته

It is a form that Thou with care has wrought,
 With hundred thousand wonders it is fraught;

I can't improve on what I am, because,
 'Twas thus I issued from Thy melting-pot.

ار آب و گلم سرمشه من چه کنم?
 وین بسم قصب تو رمنه من هه کنم?
 هر ذیک و ندی که ار من آید بوجود
 تو بور سر، من اومشنه من چه کنم?
 'Twas Thou who made'st me, Lord,

What can I do?

Thou spun'st life's silk and wool,
 What can I do?

Whatever good or evil I commit
 Thou hast predestined, Lord,
 What can I do?

سارنده کار، مُرده و رلده توئی
 دارنده این حرج، پرآگنده توئی
 من گردد، بدم صاحب، این بنده توئی
 کس دا چه گنه جو آفریننده توئی

Thou art the Lord of all who live and die,
'Tis Thou that rules the troublous wheel of sky;

Since, Thou the maker of each sinful slave,
Why should the fault with any creature lie?

The same ideas are expiessed by Khwāja Hāthz in a variety of beautiful ways—

بُو ای راهد و دعویٰ نکم سوت نهیں —

کہ حدا در ارل ار یہو نہیں نہ سوچتے

Away, O zealot, and do not invite me to Heaven, for on the day of creation, God did not design me for it.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

Khayyām's philosophy of life is apparently an echo of Epicurus'* utterance, namely, don't have anything to do with the past and the future, whatever there is, it is in the present, eat, drink and be merry, all else is nothing. چنان نماید و حنین بجرهم نہو اهد مادر
It remained not so, nor shall it so remain

در وقتی، بھار اگو نہیں، حور سومنیت
پنڈ میں قدھی دھدھ مرا دو لب، کسے
گوچہ بورھ کس این سعن نامشہ درست
سک بہ دمن ار دگر بوم نام بھست

If in the Spring, beside a meadow's brink,
A fairy-form gives me a cup of drink,
A heaven 'tis, though all may not approve,
Call me a dog if from such joys I shrink.

یک میس، متراب و لب، یار و لب، کسے
این حملہ مرا نقد و ترا نسیہ نہیں
فومے ا، بھست و بدورج اندر گردند
کہ رفت بدورج، وک، آمد و نہیں؟

* A Greek philosopher born in 341 B. C. He taught that pleasure, apart from vicious or sensual indulgence, is the chief good in life

A jug of wine, a loved one, and a lea,
Are better far than joys that are to be;
Some people talk of Heav'n and Hell, but who
To Hell repaired? Who came from Heav'n to thee?

دوذے که گرمشن اسست ارو یاد مکن
فردا که نامدۀ اسست فریاد مکن
بو نامدۀ و گرمشن نیاد مکن
حالی خوش باش و عمر بوراد مکن

The day that from thy hand has fled, forget,
O'er morrow that is yet to come, don't fret;
Rely thou not on Future and the Past,
Rejoice and waste not life in vain regret.

اد در در در علم حمله بگیری نه
وادر در سر رلکر دلکر آویری نه
دان ہیس که دورگار خونت دیزد
تو خون، بھال در قبح دیزی نه

From learning vain 'tis well to keep away,
And better 'tis with loved one's curls to play;
Before Time sheds thy blood, 'tis best to shed
The flagon's blood in drinking pots to day.

دان ہیس کم بوسجست مشبھون آرند
فرمای که تا نادئ کلگن آرند
تو زر نہ اے خافل نادان که ترا
دو اوتہ دھند و نار بیرون آرند

Ere comes marauding Fate thy blood to spill,
Bid them with rosy wine the bowl to fill,
Thou art not gold, O fool, that in the earth
They'd bury thee and take thee out at will *

* It refers to the ancient practice of hiding their valuables in the earth whenever they expected a night attack of plunderers

اين حمل که در راه سعادت چويد
 دوزي صد بار خود ترا می گويد
 دریاب تو اين يكدم، فرصت که نه
 آن تری که نه روی و آخوند رويد

The sense that walks the paths of joy always,
 A hundred times a day to thee it says:

Waste not thy time, for thou art not like grass
 That even though they mow, it springs apace.

درباب که از روح خدا خواهی رفعت
 در پرده اسرار، فنا خواهی رفعت
 مه نوش ندایی از کها آمدۀ
 خوش ناش ندایی که کها خواهی رفعت

Remember that the soul from self must fly,
 And thou behind Death's mystic curtain lie;

Drink wine! thou knowest not whence thou hast come,
 Be glad! thou knowest not where thou shalt lie.

مائیم خریدار می کهنه و نو
 والگاه فروشنده حالم ندو و
 گنتی که پس از مرگ کها خواهی رفعت
 می پیش من آر و هر کها خواهی رو

We purchase wine though old or new it be,
 And for two grains our worldly goods sell we,

Thou askest, where thou'l go to after death?

Bring wine and go wherever it pleases Thee.

If men of such philosophic views do not stop to think of vice or virtue, and do what they like and enjoy themselves to the full, then of course, it is highly dangerous; but we must not expect such a dangerous philosophy from Khayyām. He has confessed in many of his quatrains that he believes in the after-life and in Divine rewards and punishments, and he gives instructions as to how to avoid evils and do good.

We can never properly estimate what base, contemptible, unlawful and foul means were employed in an Asiatic Empire to acquire rank and grandeur. To understand that, we must at least travel through a Native State. The state of things which Khayyām had to witness was this, that the great men of the world were busy, day and night, in conspiring and using false pretences, oppressions, enmity and flattery to gain their unlawful ends. But how fleeting and unreliable were the things they secured with so much difficulty? A man is a prime minister to-day, tomorrow you find him begging from door to door. A man, who was but yesterday the master of a kingdom, is to-day a beggar standing by the gate of a mosque. The Bermicidēs¹ rule over a vast population to-day, and a short time after, you find the whole family ruined and annihilated. Abūl Fażl², who was a favourite courtier till yesterday, is beheaded to-day, and his severed head is brought into the Court!

There is no doubt about it that a philosopher, seeing this state of affairs, would be confused and cry out that the world was unreliable. Rank and dignity are mere names, and life itself is worth nothing. From Faridūn's³ dust the potter's wares are made, and Jamshīd's⁴ corpse is used in brick-making, therefore cares and worries and human endeavours are useless. Pass your little life in peaceful silence and contentment; eat, drink, and be happy, and depart cheerfully from the world.

Khayyām knows the fact that people look contemptuously upon this sort of a contented man and wonders at their attitude,

1. The Bermicidēs were a great and noble Persian family and were for a period of fifty years (752—804 A. D.) the favourites of the first five Abbásid Caliphs. They were massacred out of jealousy by the order of Hārūn-ar-Rashid. For a full account of their rise and fall, see Maulānā Abdūr Razzāq's well known Urdu work "Al Bahramikā".

2. Emperor Akbar's prime minister, one of the nine luminaries (ناف رلن) of his court. Author of "Ain-i Akbari". He was assassinated in 1604 A. D.

3 & 4. See pp. 81 and 80

ان حمع اکايو که مناصب دارند
 ار ختیه و خم د هار، هود نهراوند
 وانکس که اسمر، حرص حون ایسان نیست
 اهن طرفه که ادمیس می نهارند
 These men of rank, and titles and renown,
 Are sick of their own lives, and fret and frown,
 And yet, how strange that if a man is not
 Like them his passions' slave, they pull him down.

He teaches us the lesson of contentment and freedom in a very beautiful style—

حون در، تو اپه عدل قسمت درمود
 یک دره د کم متود د خواهد افروند
 اسوده ر هوچ، نیست می ناید مهد
 و اراده ر هرچه هست می ناید بود*

Thy daily bread is fixed by God's decree,
 An atom more or less it cannot be;
 So worry not for what thou hast not got
 And from the cares of what thou hast, be free.

حواهی که ترا ترمیت، اسرار رسد
 میمیند که کس را د تو ازار رسد
 ار مرگ میندیس و خم، در، مدور
 کیم هر دو اوقیت، خویس ناکار رسد

If thou dost wish God's mysteries to learn,
 See that no creature thou dost hurt or spurn,
 Think not of Death, nor worry for thy bread,
 For, both in their own time to thee must turn.

* It is difficult to ascertain from which particular Ms. of Khayyám's Rübáiyát Mauláná Shibli has quoted these quatrains. The text differs very much in some cases from the text of the Lucknow Edition. In the above quatrain the Luck Ed has نیست instead of نیم in the third hemistich, other editions have نیم in the third hemistich and نیمی in the fourth hemistich.

The life which Khayyām considers as enviable is this—

در دھو هرآن ک نیم نانی دارد
ور اھر، سنتس اسناپی دارد
ن خادم کس نوک د مقدم، کسے
گو شاد بري که خوش حهانه دارد

Whoso of bread has half a loaf to eat,
A little cot wherein to rest his feet,
Who is no one's slave and no one's master, he
Must e'er rejoice, for him the world is sweet.

Ibn-i-Yamīn has beautifully portrayed such a life as follows—

دو تاے نان اکو ادر گندم اسپت یا ادر حو
دو تاے حامه اکر کھپت اسپت یا خود نو
بھ حار گومه؛ دیوار خود بھاطر جمع
که کس دگوید ار یئھا بھجر و آنھا دو
ھزار ہار فزو نشہ د نرد، این، یمیں
رفر مملکت کپھناد و کے خسرو

Two crumbs of wheat or barley bread to chew,
Two slops to put on, whether old or new,
A little room where none has right to say—
“Get up from here and thither go away;”
Ibn-i-Yamīn thinks far better such a fate
Than Kaikobād or Khūsro's glorious state.

MORAL TEACHINGS

Khayyām's philosophy of morals is very brief, but brief as it is, it is quite sufficient for the world—

خبیث مکن و دل، کسان را مادر
در حھدھ آن جهان مغم بادھ بھار

Do not speak slander, and do not afflict anybody's heart; I am responsible for the next world, you bring wine.

بَدْ خَوَاهُ، كَسَانْ هَمْحَمْ لَهُ مَلْحَصْ لَوْسَدْ
 يَنْكَ لَدْ لَهُ كَنْدْ تَاهَ لَهُ خَوْدَشْ صَدْ لَوْسَدْ
 مَنْ لَيْكَ، تَوْ حَوَاعِمْ وَ تَوْ حَوَاهِي لَدْ، مَنْ
 تَوْ لَيْكَ لَهُ بَهِي وَ لَهُ مَنْ لَدْ لَوْسَدْ

Ill-wishers never can their wish attain,
 For one harm done, a hundred they sustain,
 I wish you well and if you wish me ill
 It hurts me not, no, benefit you gain.

گَرْ شَادِيْ اَرْ آَنْ خَوَيْسَنْ مَيْدَانِيْ
 كَاسُودَهْ دَلَيْرَا لَهُ خَمِيْ نَسَانِيْ
 دَرْ مَاتِمْ عَيْلَ خَوَيْسَنْ نَسَنِنْ هَمْ عَمَرْ
 بَهْدَارْ مَصَنَّعْ كَهْ حَبْ نَادَانِيْ

And if it be thy pleasure or thy creed,
 To plant in joyful hearts affliction's seed ;
 Then, all thy life bewail thy want of sense,
 Because, thou art a wond'rous fool, indeed.

لَهُ آَنَكَ، خَلَاصَهْ چَهَارْ اَرْكَانِيْ
 بَسَدُو سَعْنَيْ رَعَالِمْ رَوْحَانِيْ
 دَبَوِيْ وَدَدِيْ وَ مَلَكْ اَسَانِيْ
 بَانَسَنَتْ هَرَالِهْ مَيْ نَمَائِيْ آَيِ¹

O Product of the Elements,² for Thee
 There comes a voice from Realms of Mystery
 "A beast, a demon, man or god art thou,
 Choose thou whatever thou dost like to be."

1. Khayyám means to say that it is in the power of man to mould his character as he likes. If a man is proud and insolent, he is a devil, if he is cruel and oppresses mankind, he is a beast of prey, if he serves God and leads a pious life, he is an angel, if he is honest and does no harm to any one, he is a man.

2. i.e. man In ancient times Earth, Air, Fire and Water were considered to be the elements. Khayyam calls man *the quintessence of the four elements*.

That is to say, you may be anything you desire to be, a devil, a ferocious animal, an angel or a human being ; be what you like to be ! You will wonder at the strangeness of this teaching. All religions teach us the same,* but religionists have constrained their liberality within a defined circle ; their goodness, kindness, virtue, fellow-feeling and sympathy are confined to their co-religionists only, but it was otherwise with Khayyám, for him the Sun shone equally on the desert as well as on the garden.

In Khayyám's moral teachings hypocrisy is considered the worst of crimes, and no one has, up to this day, exposed hypocrisy in such a unique way as he has done. Sádi and Háfiz have pointed out the misdeeds of monks and religious leaders in rare and different ways, but Khayyám has summed it all up in one quatrain—

راهد نه در، فاحم کیا مستی
بیگر در که نگمی و چون بیوسی
دن گفت حماکه می نمایم هستم
تو بیر چنادکه می نمایی هستی

A monk addressed a harlot “Drunk thou art,
Thou’st lost thy all to play a wicked part.”

“Yea, monk,” she said, “I’m what I seem to be ;
Art thou so holy in thy inmost heart ?”

i.e. A monk thus addressed a woman of loose character, “Thou art a wicked creature, dost thou never think what thou hast given up and what thou hast adopted ?” She replied, “I show myself to be just what I am, are you really what you show your good self to be ?”

No other illustration of the difference existing between appearances and reality can be so good, so rare, so effective and so exemplary as this one. Khayyám had pondered deeply

* i.e. to be good and virtuous

also over the causes that lead man to adopt hypocrisy, and advises us to avoid the same.

در راه حنان دو که سلامت نه کند
با خلق حنان روی که قیامت نه کند
در مسجد اگر روی حسان دو که نوا
در پیش نه خوانند و امامت نه کند

So wend thy way that no man bows to thee,
So live that thou escape celebrity
If to a mosque thou goest, go such wise
That never thou an *Imām* haps to be.

That is, so walk in the street that no one saláms you, so live with people that no one stands up to honour you, if you go to a mosque, go there in such a way that people do not desire you to be their leader, in short, pass your life so plainly, frankly and silently that people may not look upon you as a holy man. It is evident that when a man is considered pious, he has to resort to a hundred things to keep up his show of sanctity. If he had not reached such a status, he would have had no necessity for appearances and dissimulations to keep up his dignity

Khayyám's moral philosophy is far superior to that of the monks and the theologians. These holy men judge of any action by trying to find out whether it involves penalty or reward, and if they are convinced of the fact that the action does not involve a future penalty, or that God will pardon it, then they do not care for anything else. Khayyám, before committing any action, only thinks of its nature, and if it is wicked, the idea that God will forgive him does not in any way console him. To him it is no small sin that God sees and he perpetrates a crime—

با نشان همیشه در اوردم ه کنم
” در کردگ حواسین اوردم ه کنم ”

گھدم کہ رمن در گوردانی نہ کرم
دین شدم کہ دیدی کہ نہ کردم حکنم

I fight against my passion but in vain,
The thoughts of my own doings give me pain,
I know Thou wilt forgive me, Lord, but still
My shame that Thou hast watched me, doth remain.

That is, O God, I take it for granted that Thou wilt pardon my sin and wilt not punish me for it, but, is it not punishment enough to think that Thou wert watching me and I committed a sin before Thy eyes?

KHAYYAM'S VIEWS ON JURISTS

You have seen specimens of Khayyám's philosophical, moral and free thoughts. You can well imagine what opinion such a man can have for the orthodox jurists. He very rightly remarks—

ما این دو سه نادان کہ سماں می دائید
او چھل کہ داناء چھان ایسا ایسا
حومی ناس کہ او خری ایساناں نہ مل
ھر کو نہ خر است کافوس می دالند
With these few fools who stupidly suppose,
That in this world they are the only wise,
Be glad, for he who is not like them an ass,
Is but a Káfír¹ in such people's eyes.

Just imagine that every one of even such men as Iínám Ghazálí², Imám Rázi³, Mohiyuddín Arabí⁴ and Shaykh-úl-Ishráq, has been attacked by the jurists. Why so? Simply because these great men did not entertain commonplace and absurd religious beliefs and ideas like those of the jurists. Khayyám has summed up the truth in this bitter remark that any one, who is not an ass like the orthodox jurists, is called an infidel by these people.

1 An infidel 2. See note on page 60 3 An eminent physician of the tenth century 4 A noteworthy Arabian mystic (1165—1240 A.D.)

Khayyām has expressed the feelings of his heart under the guise of a poet. But it is a pity that owing to the high-handedness of the jurists even he dared not reveal some of the hidden secrets and truths.

He says—

اسرار، جهان جهان، در دفتر، ماست
گهیں نهان که آن وال، سر، ماست
خون نبسم درین مردم، دنما اهل
نهان گهیں هدایه، در حاطه، ماست

World's mysteries as in my book I find,
I can't disclose through fear of being maligned,

Since there is not a wise or worthy man
I can't speak out all that is in my mind.

Alas! God alone knows, how many strange and wonderful secrets and truths, the tyranny of the hypocrites¹ has made to be buried in the breasts of men! To-day, it is an age of freedom, but where are now those truths and secrets of yore²? There is no advantage in repeating commonplace talks.

اپه درکارست نوای تو گفت

اپه می گوئی تو خود درکار نیست

*What is needed could not be told
to thee, what thou sayest is not wanted.*

KHAYYAM AND EUROPE

It is strange that Asia has not better appreciated Khayyām's merits than Europe has done and ought to have done. Khayyām's ideas so closely resemble those of European thinkers that if he were living to-day he would adopt European ways and manners!

Besides Fitzgerald's famous version of the Rūbāiyāt, any other literature regarding Ūmar Khayyām that was published

1 Lit طاہر بوسنون i.e. "The worshippers of the externals"

2 SHIBLI

3 To avoid one or two small inaccuracies in this paragraph I have slightly abridged it.,

in Europe up to the year 1896, was very limited in capacity. It was the memorable article* of Prof. Schukouski that created a great change in the public mind, and translations and works by Ross, Heron-Allen¹, McCarthy², Garner³, Whinfield⁴, Nicolas⁵, Bodenstedt⁶ and others came to be published. Of these Garner's translation is full of sense and learning. Some of the Rûbâiyât have also been translated into Danish.

There is a very old MS.⁷ in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and Heron-Allen has published the facsimile photographs of the same. There is another MS. in Paris but that is not as old as the Oxford one.

* Refers to Prof. Valentino Schukouski's Russian article "I 'Strastvuyushehiya Chetverveti-ya" written in 1897. It was translated into English by Dr Sir E. Denison Ross in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (J. R. A. S.) April 1898, pp. 349-366.

1. See item Nos. 8 and 10 p. 5 and p. 6.

2. " " No. 6 " 5

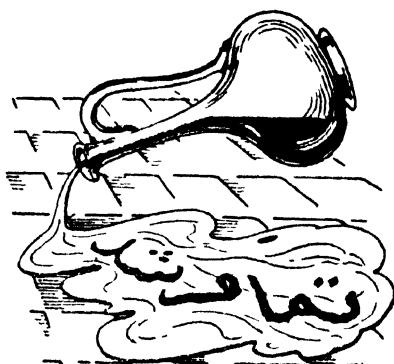
3. " " " 5 " 5

4. " " " 3 " 5

5. " " " 1 " 5

6. " " " 2 " 5

7. For a complete list of the different manuscripts of Khayyim's Rubâiyât, see pp. 65-66.



APPENDIX A

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF IMPORTANT PERSIAN AND ARABIC WORKS CONTAINING REFERENCES TO ŪMAR KHAYYĀM

- (1) "Tārīkh al Hūkmā' al Islām" of Zāher-ūd-dīn al Bejhāqī. Published before A. D. 1150
- (2) "Chehār Maqāla" of Nizāmī Arūzī Samarqandī. Published A. D. 1150.
- (3) "Mīr-ād-ūl-Ilād" of Najm-ūd-dīn Rāzī. Published A. D. 1223.
- (4) "Tārīkh al Kāmil" of Ibn-ūl-Asīr. Published A. D. 1230.
- (5) "Tārīkh-ūl-Hūkmā'" of Iemāl-ūl-dīn al Qiftī. Published A. D. 1248.
- (6) "Nūzhat-ūl-Arwāh" of Mohommad Shahrazūrī. Published middle of 13TH CENTURY A. D.
- (7) "Tārīkh-i-Jehān Gūshā" of Atā Mālik-i-Jūwayanī. Published A. D. 1260.
- (8) "Asar al Bilād" of Zakariyā al Kazwīnī. Published before A. D. 1283.
- (9) "Jāmī'-ūt-Tawārīkh" of Rashīd-ūd-dīn Fazullāh. Published A. D. 1310.
- (10) "Tārīkh-i Guzidā" of Hamdullāh Mūstauhī. Published A. D. 1330
- (11) "Firdaus-ut-Tawārīkh." Published A. D. 1405.
- (12) "Tazkīat-ūs Shaurā" of Daulatshāh Samarqandī. Published A. D. 1487
- (13) "Ain-i-Akbarī" of Abūl Fazl. Published middle of 16TH CENTURY A. D.

(14) "Târikh-i-Alfi" Published A. D. 1583

(15) "Haft Iqlum" of Amin Ahmed-i-Râzi. Published A. D. 1593

(16) "Dabistân-i-Mazâhib" of Mohsan-i-Fâni. Published A. D. 1650.

(17) "Kashf-ûz-Zânûn" of Hâjjî Khalîfa. Published middle of 17TH CENTURY A. D.

(18) "Riyâz-ûs-Shaurâ" of Wâli Dâgîstâni. Published A. D. 1748.

(19) "Khazâna-i-Amîrâ" of Mîr Gûlâm Ali Khân Azîd Published A. D. 1763.

(20) "Atish Kadah" of Lâtif Ali Beg Azhar. Published A. D. 1766.

(21) "Mûjma-ûl-Fûsahâ" of Rîzâ Qâli Khân Published A. D. 1867.



APPENDIX B

A LIST OF IMPORTANT PERSIAN WORKS CONSULTED BY THE LATE MAULA'NA' SHIBLI IN WRITING "SHER-ÛL-'AJAM."

<i>Title of Book</i>	<i>Author's Name</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
اب الاباب	عویی اوردی	This is the oldest memoir available. The author flourished during the 7th century of the Mohammedan era.
دظامی درویصی سمرقندی	سهرار مقالہ	The author was a contemporary of Nizāmī Ganjvī and was himself a perfect poet.
تذکرہ دولت منہاہ	دولت منہاہ سمرقندی	It is a well-known memoir. The author has committed blunders in several places, still, on the whole, the work is perfect and interesting.
تاریخ آل عربس	لیکھنی	The author flourished during the reign of Mâsûd bin Mohammed of Ghaznî. The work contains a comprehensive account of the poets of his time.
غرفات	اوحدی	The author was an associate of Urn. The work is in two bulky volumes and contains a detailed account.
می خانہ	عبدالنبوی مخدو الرمای	The author flourished during the reign of Jehangir. He has given a detailed account of the lives of his contemporaries. Has treated only those poets who have written "Sâqî-Nâma."

Title of Book	Author's Name	Remarks
تذکرہ الشعرا	میر راطھر نصیر ابادی	This work was published in A. D. 1083.
مائد و حیمی	عبدالماقی بھاوندی	The author was a courtier of Khán Khánán Abdûr Rahîm. The work contains a biography of Khán Khánán together with a detailed ac- count of all the poets of his age.
مرآہ الحیال	مشیر خان لودی	This work has already been printed.
ھفت اقلیم	امن رادی	Written during Jehangîr's reign.
تذکرہ میر تھی کامٹی	میر تھی کامٹی	This work is dated 993 A. H
تذکرہ سامی	سام مسدرہ صنوی	The author was a contem- porary of Emperor Jehângîr.
حیوب السبیر	خواند امیر	A very reliable work. The author flourished during the reign of Jehangîr.
دیاص السعرا	والہ داعسنالی	A memoir of the poets who flourished during the reign of Timûr.
سرو آراد	مولوی علام علی آزاد	This is a popular book.
یدر نہ صا	"	Contains an account of those poets only who had received any reward for their poems.
خزانہ عامرہ	"	
مجمع الفائیں مجمع الفصھا	خان آردو هدایت فلی خان	It is a modern anthology.

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